

BILINGUAL DISTRICTS ADVISORY BOARD

VOLUME 17

CHAIRMAN



ACCO

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BILINGUAL DISTRICTS ADVISORY BOARD (1972)

- Volume 17 -

folio      subject

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RESEARCH REPORT NO. 1000  
RESEARCH REPORT NO. 1000  
RESEARCH REPORT NO. 1000

RESEARCH REPORT NO. 1000, 1971

1. Summary of the report

2. Objectives of the research project

3. Methodology of the research project

4. Results of the research project

5. Conclusions of the research project

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7. Acknowledgements of the research project

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BILINGUAL DISTRICTS ADVISORY BOARD (1972)

PROPOSED AGENDA

Seventeenth General Meeting, June 14 and 15, 1974

110 Argyle Avenue, Ottawa

9.00 a.m. Friday, June 14, 1974

- I - Adoption of Agenda
- II - Minutes of Sixteenth General Meeting, March 8, 9, 1974
- III - Business arising from minutes
  - 1. Correspondence
  - 2. Administration - budget, lease, staff
  - 3. Report by Dr. Lamontagne of meeting of editorial committee
  - 4. Work schedule and contents of special study
  - 5. Draft of proposal by Dr. Lamontagne of recommendation for permanent committee
- IV - Correction of figures re Port au Port
- V - Review of provincial introductions for final report
- VI - Review of second section of draft to final report
- VII - Consideration of desirability of additional meeting
- VIII - Other business
- IX - Adjournment, 1 p.m. Saturday, May 15, 1974

Ottawa  
May 29, 1974

Paul Fox  
Chairman







CONSEIL CONSULTATIF DES DISTRICTS BILINGUES (1972)

ORDRE DU JOUR PROVISOIRE

Dix-septième réunion, les 14 et 15 juin 1974

110, rue Argyle, Ottawa

9h vendredi, le 14 juin 1974

- I - Adoption de l'ordre du jour
- II - Procès-verbal de la seizième réunion, les 8 et 9 mars 1974
- III - Affaires découlant du procès-verbal
  - 1. Correspondance
  - 2. Administration, budget, bail, personnel
  - 3. Rapport du Dr Lamontagne sur la rencontre du comité de l'édition
  - 4. Plan de travail et contenu de l'étude spéciale
  - 5. Ebauche des recommandations pour le comité permanent préparée par Dr Lamontagne
- IV - Correction des données statistiques - re Port au Port
- V - Révision des introductions aux provinces pour le rapport final
- VI - Révision de la 2e partie de l'ébauche pour le rapport final
- VII - Réunions futures
- VIII - Autres
- IX - Ajournement, 13h samedi, le 15 mai 1974

Ottawa,  
le 29 mai 1974

Paul Fox,  
Président







Members  
Bilingual Districts Advisory Board

Secretary General

June 6, 1974

Minutes of Sixteenth Meeting, March 8 and 9, 1974

CORRECTIONS

The Chairman has noted a few typographical errors in the minutes which escaped our attention before sending them out to you. Would you please make the following corrections:

- P. 11 - line 6th from bottom - "feasability" should be "feasibility"
- P. 17 - last paragraph, last sentence - should read "The Chairman wished to have it recorded in the minutes of the current meeting that from page 56 to the end of the minutes of the previous meeting Father Regimbal..." The qualifying phrase about the minutes of the previous meeting was inadvertently omitted.
- P. 19 - paragraph 3, line 6 - "CAM's" should read "CMA's"
- P. 24 - paragraph 1, line 1 - numeral (11) should be inserted prior to "concerning"
- P. 27 - paragraph 1, line 5 - "legislature" should be "legislation"
- P. 28 - second heading should be numbered roman numeral VIII instead of XI. This item was left for discussion at the end of the meeting.

N.F. Morrison





CONFIDENTIEL

DEUXIEME CONSEIL CONSULTATIF DES DISTRICTS BILINGUES (1972)

Procès-verbal de la seizième réunion

les 8 et 9 mars 1974

110, avenue Argyle, Ottawa

La seizième séance plénière du Conseil consultatif des Districts bilingues (1972) fut convoquée par le président pour vendredi, le 8 mars à 9h a.m. à la salle de conférences, 110, avenue Argyle, Ottawa (Ontario)

Participent à la réunion:

M. Paul Fox, président  
Mme Jane Carrothers, commissaire  
M. W.H. Hickman, commissaire  
M. Léopold Lamontagne, commissaire  
M. William Mackey, commissaire  
Mme Yvonne Raymond, commissaire  
M. Albert Regimbal, commissaire (à compter de 10h20)  
M. Adélard Savoie, commissaire  
Mlle Eleanor Duckworth, commissaire  
  
M. Neil Morrison, secrétaire général

Assistent également à la réunion:

M. Donald Cartwright, conseiller en recherches  
Mlle Pauline LeBlanc, secrétaire

Absent:

M. Alfred Monnin, commissaire.





Au commencement de la réunion, le président a informé les autres membres que M. Regimbal a téléphoné pour aviser que son arrivée à la réunion serait retardée de deux heures approximativement, le vendredi matin. De plus, il a reçu une lettre du Juge Monnin disant qu'il n'assisterait pas à cette réunion. En même temps, M. Monnin a exprimé ses réactions à l'ébauche du rapport et il a suggéré des révisions. Le président faisait faire copies de la lettre de M. Monnin pour chaque membre.

# I - Adoption de l'ordre du jour

The Chairman asked permission to add one item to the draft agenda which had been sent out to members in advance. At the previous meeting of the Board members had asked him to get Father Regimbal's vote on the motions for which he was not present. Mr. Fox had written him asking him to read the minutes and to be prepared to give the Board his vote. He presumed Mr. Regimbal would do that when he arrived and his vote could simply be entered into the record. Agreed.

Proposé par M. Lamontagne, appuyé par M. Savoie, que l'ordre du jour soit adopté comme amendé. Adopté.

# II - Procès-verbal de la quinzième séance des 16 et 17 décembre 1973

Mme Raymond dit: "Je trouve que si nous parlons d'égalité des deux langues officielles, dans ce procès-verbal l'égalité n'est pas exprimée. Il y a autre chose à la page 56 dans la discussion au milieu de la page: 'Mme Raymond s'est déclarée d'accord avec la position prise par le juge Monnin et espère qu'on puisse faire valoir l'influence des districts bilingues et d'accroître aux minorités surtout dans le secteur de l'éducation.' "Ca ne veut rien dire." Elle insiste qu'il faut corriger de la façon suivante: "...et espère qu'on puisse faire valoir les grâces des districts bilingues et permettre ainsi aux minorités d'accroître leurs services dans le secteur de l'éducation."





M. Morrison fait des excuses pour lui-même et pour M. Roly Morency. Il explique qu'il a préparé le procès-verbal pour une moitié de la réunion, c'est-à-dire les matins du dimanche et du lundi, et M. Morency a dicté l'autre moitié pour les après-midi du dimanche et du lundi. Il souligne qu'une grande partie de la réunion en décembre s'était déroulée en anglais - peut-être les trois quarts ou plus étaient en anglais. De plus les deux secrétaires ont eu des difficultés presque impossibles à résoudre pour écouter et comprendre sur les bandes ce que les membres du Conseil ont dit à plusieurs reprises.

Mrs. Carrothers also had a correction she wished to have made in the minutes for Monday afternoon. On page 58, in the middle of the last paragraph, it says: "Mrs. Carrothers remembered that the people most affected in this region were in fact residing in Mount Wright." She felt the simplest thing was to strike out that sentence because it was not really important.

En réponse aux remarques faites par Mme Raymond au sujet de la langue employée dans le procès-verbal, le président a cru "que si la discussion est en français, on doit enregistrer le texte en français. Maintenant que nous avons plusieurs micros au lieu d'un seul, j'espère que nous pourrons faire un enregistrement exact des remarques des membres." "Mais", répond le secrétaire, "tout dépend de ce que vous voulez." A mon avis, le procès-verbal était beaucoup trop long la dernière fois, mais à cause de la diversité d'opinion assez marquées, moi-même j'ai essayé de reproduire les lignes principales de la discussion et c'est pour cela que c'est si long." Le président est d'accord parce qu'en faisant l'ébauche du rapport il a trouvé les procès-verbaux détaillés, une aide importante, même essentielle.

D'autres membres ont insisté que les procès-verbaux étaient beaucoup trop longs et détaillés.



Moreover, Mr. Hickman stressed that the important thing about the minutes was the motions or recommendations and not the discussions or individual comments. He reminded the Board that it had been agreed earlier that remarks would not be attributed to particular members because this was a working committee in which ideas were tentatively expressed which might be changed later. The Secretary promised that in any future meetings he would attempt to keep the minutes as short as possible and to avoid attributing the expression of views to individual members without distorting the record.

The Chairman said that the Secretary had had a two and a half page excerpt of the minutes copied beginning on page 21 with the words: "Secondly, Mr. Fox said it was with great regret that he had to report to the Board that Col. Morency..." and continuing down to the end of Col. Morency's remarks on page 23 where he said: "Merci infiniment". Mr. Fox wished to have the permission of the Board to have this copy presented to Roland Morency at the dinner that evening as a testimonial to his services. Agreed.

M. Lamontagne propose, appuyé par Mme Carrothers, que le procès-verbal de la quinzième réunion du Conseil soit adopté comme révisé. Adopté.

### III - Affaires découlant du procès-verbal:

#### 1. Correspondence

The Chairman referred to the letter he had received from Judge Monnin, copies of which had been supplied to each member, and suggested that the substance of Mr. Monnin's suggestions about the draft text could be discussed under item IX of the agenda. Agreed.





He thanked Dr. Lamontagne for writing the letter in elegant French on his behalf to Dr. Cloutier, Minister of Education in the government of Quebec, and apologized to Miss Duckworth for the fact that her letter to Messrs. Gillies and Comeau, ministers in the Nova Scotia government, apparently went astray in the mail and was received very late. However, copies had been sent to all members.

The Chairman raised the question of the letter received from Mr. James Walker, M.P. for York Centre, asking for an expression of views on the part of the Board about the suggestion that provincial legislators should be able to use the facilities of the federal bilingualism programme. The Secretary had sent an interim reply to Mr. Walker saying that he would refer the matter to the Chairman and to the Board.

Un des membres a exprimé l'idée que "Ce n'est pas de nos affaires, on n'a pas à s'occuper de ça du tout." Les autres membres étaient d'accord. The Chairman asked the Secretary to write Mr. Walker expressing the views of the Board. Agreed.

2. Rapport de Mme Raymond et du Dr. Mackey sur la rencontre avec le gouvernement du Québec et les députés de la région de Montréal, 21 janvier 1974.

Des rapports écrits ont été préparés par MM. Lamontagne, Mackey et Morrison et distribués aux membres avant la réunion. Les trois membres et le Secrétaire ont ajouté des remarques supplémentaires pour l'information d'autres membres du Conseil en ce qui concerne la politique du gouvernement du Québec à l'égard des districts bilingues. Finalement, Mme Raymond mentionne: "Juste une autre chose. Quand nous avons quitté M. Cloutier nous lui avons demandé, ou il nous a offert, je ne suis pas très certaine, de nous envoyer officiellement par écrit la position du Québec." Le Secrétaire





répond que: "Nous n'avons rien reçu de M. Cloutier." Mme Raymond a répété que, "M. Cloutier, nous avait dit avant de partir qu'il nous enverrait le rapport qu'il avait demandé d'ailleurs à M. Lavigne (son conseiller spécial) de prendre et qu'il nous enverrait aussi la position officielle du Québec." Mme Raymond suggère: "On peut peut-être attendre encore mais je leur écrirais une lettre pour leur rappeler." Elle a demandé au président si l'on doit attendre peut-être encore deux semaines. Un membre a pensé qu'il faudrait signaler dans la lettre que nous ne désirons pas mal interpréter la politique du Québec, parce qu'oralement on peut bien faire des fautes. The Chairman said he didn't think the Board should expect from Quebec something that it didn't expect from any other province, that is a written statement of policy. "But," he said, "we can ask, we have given them the chance; then if somebody accuses us of mis-interpreting them we can say: well we asked, we had our meeting and this was our sense of the meeting."

Le Secrétaire rapporte que Monsieur Lavigne a envoyé au bureau du Conseil deux collections du Rapport Gendron, une en français, l'autre en anglais. Les membres ont exprimé le désir d'avoir chacun les trois volumes du rapport de la Commission Gendron. Et aussi une liste des études faites pour le compte de la Commission.

3. Rapport du Dr. Lamontagne sur sa rencontre avec le Dr. Mark MacGuigan, député de Windsor-Walkerville, le 20 décembre 1973

MM. Lamontagne et Morrison ont tous deux préparé des rapports de cette réunion. A la demande du président, M. Lamontagne a ajouté les remarques suivantes: "Ce que je veux souligner, c'est que M. MacGuigan est en faveur d'un bureau qui continuerait, ou qui ferait l'entre deux conseils, mais qui serait beaucoup plus considérable que ce à quoi j'avais pensé. Il voudrait un bureau complet de neuf à dix membres. Je pense que c'est un petit peu trop, mais c'est pour vous dire. Il est très en faveur d'un organisme qui continuerait le travail



du Conseil et préparerait le travail de l'autre Conseil." The Chairman suggested the Board should discuss Mr. MacGuigan's suggestions under "other recommendations" on the agenda. Agreed.

4. Rapport du Dr Cartwright sur la conférence de l'Association Canadienne des Géographes, London, Ontario, 18 et 19 janvier 1974

Mr. Cartwright had sent out a memorandum to Board members about the conference and only wished to express his appreciation for permission to attend. He also thanked Mr. Savoie for his assistance to Mr. Collin Williams of the University of Swansea when Mr. Williams visited New Brunswick in connection with his comparative study of language and nationalism in Wales and Canada. Mr. Williams is an exchange graduate student in geography at the University of Western Ontario.

5. Budget et personnel

Mr. Morrison reported that as a result of a discussion in December after the last meeting of the Board with the Assistant Under-Secretary of State, Mr. Peter Roberts, authorization for extra funds to cover the expenses of the Board in completing its work had been approved by the Secretary of State for the last quarter of the fiscal year 1973-74 (January 1st to March 31st, 1974) and for the first three months of the 1974-75 fiscal year. Contracts for the staff had also been extended until the end of June 1974 and the extension of the lease for the office space had been re-negotiated for the same period. Mr. Fox asked members to send in all their claims for honoraria and travel expenses up-to-date prior to the end of March so that the amounts would be included in the account of expenditures for the current fiscal year, 1973-74.

The Chairman suggested this would be an appropriate point to discuss the timetable for completion of the work of the Board. Personally he felt that the Board should be able to wind up everything by the end of June. If agreement could be reached on a final report even by the middle of May it might still be possible to have it printed and ready for delivery to the government by the end of June. Other members were more pessimistic and felt that it was likely to be the end of September or later before the report would be ready for delivery and that at least two more meetings would be required and possibly more. There was also discussion about other obligations the Board would be required to





meet after completion of its report and the extent of the staff which would be required.

It was suggested that the amount of time the Board would require would depend upon the way in which it was decided to deal with the draft. The Chairman suggested there were two kinds of comments which might be made on the draft: one, questions of editorial style and wording, and the other, questions of meaning or substance. He hoped the first could be handled by sending in written comments and the second probably by discussion. It was suggested by one member that the Board should not concern itself with wording but rather leave that responsibility with the Chairman. M. Savoie était d'accord et il s'est exprimé comme suit: "Je ne suis pas préoccupé d'avoir un président qui écrit assez bien, donc il n'y a pas trop de problèmes de ce côté-là, je serais plus préoccupé par le contenu. Il est possible que nous ayons des suggestions à faire si nous le trouvons inacceptable au point de vue substance, à ce moment-là on pourra vous faire des suggestions, mais je pense qu'il faut s'abstenir de corriger les adjectifs ou, en fin de compte, la présentation. Je crois qu'on peut faire confiance au président et à M. Lamontagne, ils sont deux experts dans ce domaine là."

It was agreed that, after the meeting, if members have any suggestions they wish to make about revisions or rewording in the draft they should submit them to the Chairman in writing.

There was further discussion about what still needed to be done to complete, revise and approve the draft of the report, how long that would take and how many more meetings would be necessary. It seemed to be the general consensus that this process would take until the end of June and would probably require two more meetings of the Board. After a final text in English was accepted there would be the translation, which Dr. Lamontagne had agreed to do, the reconciliation of the French and English versions, the printing, proof reading and checking, etc, all of which would probably take at least two more months so that it would likely be sometime in September, at the earliest, when the printed report would be ready to be delivered to the government.





Under the Act the date when the report is tabled and made public would depend on whether Parliament was sitting. The Chairman raised the question to get the reaction of members about what should be done in the event that the Board had completed its report and an election had been announced or was in process at that time. He recommended strongly that the Board should not release the report until after the election. Des autres membres se sont exprimés d'être en accord avec la suggestion proposée par le président.

Certain additional follow-up work would remain to be done even after submission of the printed report. After it has seen the report the Government might decide, for some reason, that it wanted the Board to do something else. The Chairman pointed out that the Board was in existence until the government put it out of existence.

In the light of this discussion of the work and probable timetable it was agreed that staff would be required after the end of June, possibly on a somewhat reduced basis later, and that someone would be needed, in the words of the Chairman, "who is able to hold the ship together." Other members expressed the view that both the Secretary and the Research Officer, Messrs Morrison and Cartwright, should be retained, if possible, until the report is final and printed. After that at least one of the senior staff would be needed until the report is placed before Parliament and published and probably for another month or so after that, well into the fall. Agreed.

Mr. Fox asked members if they were likely to have any additional requests for statistical data or geographical work, for instance in connection with minority statements or reports some of them might be contemplating, would they please submit them to Mr. Cartwright soon since it took time to prepare such material, and in fairness to him he could not be expected to be a perpetual resource to the Board forever.



Une des membres demande si M. Cartwright n'est pas encore membre du personnel au bureau au moment quand nous allons présenter le rapport, est-ce que nous pourrions quand même faire appel à sa bonne volonté, à sa compétence. Mr. Cartwright said his plans were still a little uncertain at the present time but he would be happy to make himself available at any time later if required.

The Chairman said there would need to be consultations with Mr. Peter Roberts and other senior officials of the Secretary of State Department about extension of authorization for expenditures, staff contracts, etc. beyond the end of June to bridge the gap until the work of the Board is finally terminated following submission of the report. He would work this out with the Secretary General and they would report back to the Board later. Agreed.

6. Dispositions prises pour le dîner en l'honneur du colonel et madame Roland Morency

Le président annonce que le dîner aura lieu au Cercle universitaire d'Ottawa, 453 avenue Laurier, à 8 heures, apéritifs à 7 heures. Il remercie M. Lamontagne d'avoir fait si gentiment les arrangements nécessaires pour cet heureux évènement.

10:45 - Pause café de dix minutes.

IV - Report by D. Cartwright on additional statistical data based on language related questions in 1971 census and on figures reporting French mother-tongue populations in urban centres outside recommended districts.

Dr. Cartwright presented to members, and explained the significance of four sets of statistical tables. In brief, these were as follows:

- i) Two schematically drafted tables showing the distribution of the French language population in Canada by provinces and by the regional concentrations, based on (1) French as the



language most often spoken at home, and (2) French as the only official language spoken. A table arranged in similar fashion but showing the distribution of the French mother tongue population in Canada by provinces with regional concentrations had been prepared and presented to members earlier. Now with the three tables arranged in the same manner it would be possible to make comparisons on a provincial and regional basis of the distribution of the French language population across the country in terms of mother tongue, language most often spoken at home (langue d'usage) and French as the only official language spoken (i.e. unilingual French as distinct from bilingual French and English).

- ii) Table showing the distribution of urban centres (across the country beyond the borders of Quebec) that have French mother tongue populations of 2,000 and over for those centres that are outside recommended bilingual districts. This classification of data had been requested by members to assist them in their consideration of possible recommendations for the application of section 9(2) of the Act to urban centres having a substantial French-speaking population but with a French mother tongue population of less than 10% of the total population. The data was arranged to show the relative sizes of the French language groups in these predominantly English-speaking urban centres.
- iii) Similar table making a comparison of F.M.T. populations with the French language-of-the-home populations and French-only populations for the same urban centres outside Quebec (where available data made this possible).

As Mr. Cartwright explained the data in this table was pertinent to the determination of the criteria of "significant demand" and "feasability" referred to in section 9(2). In this second set of data about urban centres the percentages are related to the mother tongue population, rather than the total population, to provide a rather superficial indication of language decay, or assimilation, in urban centres of





various sizes with different concentrations of the French official language minority population.

- iv) The final set of tables is an introduction to the development of an index showing degrees of language loss or retention using a more refined and detailed method of analysis which was presented to the Board last May in a paper prepared by Dr. Mackey. This method uses a cross-tabulation of data resulting from the four language-related questions in the 1971 census. It was applied to both the French ethnic populations and the English ethnic populations in two areas of Ontario for comparative purposes: the Windsor-Tilbury and Cornwall-Hawkesbury districts. The results, as Mr. Cartwright pointed out revealed some very interesting patterns: For one thing it showed the much higher degree of retention, and the relatively stronger and more viable position, of the French language in the Eastern Ontario counties. In the Windsor-Tilbury district on the other hand the analysis indicated a much higher rate of language loss. Statistics Canada has been asked to provide a break-down of the mother-tongue and language-of-the-home data by five-year age groups which will reveal much more clearly the present language situation and apparent recent trends within proposed districts. This preliminary analysis of the data raises a number of questions which require further study but Messrs Cartwright and Morrison felt this kind of data would provide a valuable resource for governments, and other interested groups as well, in planning and implementing language policy.

A la suite de la présentation de M. Cartwright il y eut une longue discussion au sujet de la possibilité de publier les résultats de la recherche faite pour le compte du Conseil et en particulier, les statistiques supplémentaires provenant des autres questions linguistiques dont M. Cartwright a fait ébauche. M. Mackey a rappelé aux membres que le Conseil a pris une décision l'an dernier de donner au gouvernement et au public autant d'information que possible pourvu que le travail du Conseil n'était pas retardé en conséquence.

On a mentionné que le Conseil n'a pas eu besoin et en général n'a pas pu employer les données additionnelles sauf concernant les décisions pertinentes à l'application



de la section 9(2) aux centres urbains. Même les membres étaient d'avis qu'il serait important, pour plusieurs raisons valables, de publier ces statistiques pour les régions et les districts à travers le pays, autant que possible dans le temps disponible. En résumé, un des membres exprime l'idée que c'est la contribution la plus utile, la plus intelligente, que le Conseil ait l'occasion de faire. Il y a beaucoup plus dans le travail du Conseil autre que la délimitation des districts bilingues, ce qui a un aspect assez mécanique; il y a la recherche et aussi l'analyse statistique en profondeur des données du recensement, ce qui est très utile au gouvernement, à la population et aux associations qui travaillent pour le bien des minorités. D'autres membres ont exprimé des idées semblables, soulignant la valeur potentielle de la publication future des résultats de la recherche.

Puis, les membres discutent de la meilleure méthode pour effectuer la publication du travail. Plusieurs suggestions sont considérées, mais enfin, c'est un choix entre deux moyens principaux: soit d'insérer le travail dans le cadre du volume du rapport lui-même, soit de le publier séparément comme une étude spéciale qui accompagne le rapport, mais qui ne fait pas partie intégrale des recommandations du Conseil. Celle-ci est la méthode traditionnelle suivie par presque toutes les commissions d'enquête comme, par exemple, les commissions Gendron et Laurendeau-Dunton. Un des membres souligne que ces études spéciales sont normalement signées par les auteurs, qui en sont responsables.

M. Regimbal propose, appuyé par M. Lamontagne, que le Conseil publie, suivant le rapport contenant les recommandations, la recherche supplémentaire dans une publication séparée, comme étude spéciale faite sous les auspices du Conseil. Adopté à l'unanimité.  
(8 pour, 0 contre, 1 absent)

Le Conseil considère alors les arrangements nécessaires pour achever ce travail, y compris les arrangements au sujet du personnel et du financement. Deux membres ont suggéré d'employer des adjoints qualifiés à la recherche, venant des universités et disponibles pour l'été. Convenu.

Mr. Cartwright raised the question of the type of analysis and especially the kind and extent of interpretation which should be attempted in such a special study. He said he would like to be free to consult and





collaborate with both Dr. Mackey and Mr. Morrison in planning the study, in completing the statistical analysis and presentation, and in interpreting the data. One member stated categorically that it was useless to put out these facts without some interpretation. In his opinion, you have to show what really is significant because if you are going to publish a study, you can't just be satisfied with tables and nothing else. You must interpret the data. This lead to a discussion of the general approach and the possible outcomes of such a study about language trends in the various regions of Canada. A l'avis d'un membre, il faut souligner les éléments nouveaux des dernières années et les suivre pour voir les changements. Quelques membres ont senti une inquiétude face à la possibilité que l'analyse démontrerait un fort déclin ou bien la disparition éventuelle des groupes linguistiques minoritaires dans certaines régions du pays. D'autres ont insisté qu'il faut faire face à la réalité. En donnant les faits actuels on peut peut-être réveiller les minorités. Mr. Cartwright pointed out the danger of making predictive statements about the future. He thought that the value of this kind of research would be to isolate the trends and then try to suggest what is contributing to these trends.

The Chairman wondered whether such a special study might be published at the expense of the Treasury Board or the Secretary of State Department. However, this possibility could be raised with senior officials of the Department when the question of the extension and financing of the Board's activities beyond the end of June was discussed. It was agreed that the Secretary General in consultation with the Chairman should take these matters up with Messrs. Keith, Roberts and Boucher and report to the Board at the next meeting.

The question of publishing as well Col. Morency's study about the offices of government departments and agencies was raised. The Chairman said that if you examine the study closely in detail you find it is very spotty, which Rolly Morency himself acknowledges, and that it is not sufficiently complete or reliable to be published. Furthermore, the Treasury Board itself is in process of doing an even more extensive study along similar lines. Therefore, the Chairman recommended that the study should not be published in the form in which it was presented to the Board. M. Lamontagne suggère de mentionner au moins la contribution des ministères dans le rapport parce que nous avons demandé aux différents organismes de nous fournir



des statistiques et certains de ces ministères y ont travaillé très longuement. Mr. Fox said he would try to include references to the extent that it is possible but in examining the study, he found it rather difficult because it is very uneven. Agreed.

12h30, la séance est levée pour déjeuner.

2h15, la séance recommence.

#### V - Capitales provinciales et autres centres urbains importants

Décision finale concernant le nombre minimum de la minorité dans les centres urbains où des services bilingues doivent être recommandés sous section 9(2) de la Loi.

En attendant quelques membres du Conseil et du secrétariat qui étaient en retard après le déjeuner, le président réfère à la liste des autres recommandations à être considérées par le Conseil à l'item VI de l'ordre du jour. M. Fox explique que la liste de treize sujets qu'il a préparée à l'attention des membres a été extraite des procès-verbaux des réunions précédentes. Le président commente très brièvement sur chaque item et alors les membres discutent au préalable les cinq premiers items.

Les retardataires étant finalement arrivés, la discussion du problème des grands centres urbains a repris avec un autre exposé de statistiques pertinentes préparé par M. Cartwright. A la suite, il y eut une discussion assez longue et détaillée à ce sujet, concernant non seulement section 9(2) mais aussi les sections 10(1) et (3). Parmi les points soulevés durant cette discussion on peut mentionner les suivants:

- les capitales provinciales sont dans une catégorie à part, à cause de leur statut de capitale;
- l'importance des capitales comme étant les noeuds de communication et les centres de services pour voyageurs;
- les capitales servent comme centres de services pour toute la population d'une province même si la ville elle-même, par exemple Charlottetown, compte peu de



francophones, puisque les francophones des environs vont à la ville pour leurs services;

- l'importance des choses symboliques: every capital should give the image of a bilingual country and in a bilingual country it should be possible to communicate with the federal government from every provincial capital in both official languages;
- l'importance de tenter de définir quelle est "la demande suffisante" où pourrait être appliqué 9(2) régissant les services au public et aussi 10(1) et 10(3) concernant les services fournis aux voyageurs;
- un des membres aimerait qu'il y ait trois étapes: celle des districts bilingues; celle des capitales où il faut des services spécifiques parce que c'est une capitale; puis celle des centres urbains ayant le nombre nécessaire des minoritaires pour fournir des services à cause d'une "demande suffisante";
- concerning "the image as reality", two members thought it was very important that everywhere in every capital city in Canada people are able to see that all important services are available in the offices of all government departments and all Crown corporations; another member pointed out that access to services under these sections in the Act (i.e. 9(2) and 10(1)(3) would be limited to the extent that it is feasible and that there is significant demand so no hardship or burden would be imposed;
- one member urged that the Board would be most helpful by recommending only those places which are really important;
- un autre membre a suggéré comme critères de centre important: la population, le fait que c'est un centre métropolitain, que c'est une capitale, qu'il y a des voyageurs.

M. Lamontagne propose, appuyé par M. Savoie que nous fassions une catégorie à part pour les capitales provinciales et que nos recommandations pour les capitales soient traitées sous la section 9(2) en partie, et sous 10(1,3).

There was some discussion about the interpretation and application of this motion including the extent of services to be provided but it was suggested that





this question of the provision of services in provincial capitals should be drawn to the attention of the federal government. The Treasury Board finally would have to decide on the feasibility and extent of services. On being put to the vote, the motion was approved by 8 votes for, 1 abstention and 1 absent.

The Board next considered what should be proposed concerning other cities. It was suggested that as a principle of selection the largest possible concentration of people in an urban area should be used, secondly, that the language of the home be used as the criterion and with the number of 5,000 as the cut-off point. 4,000 was suggested as an alternative minority language population figure. A l'avis d'un autre membre, le Conseil doit noter qu'on a tenu compte non seulement de langue maternelle, mais aussi de langue au foyer et montrer que les capitales sont importantes mais que celles comme Toronto, Winnipeg et Edmonton le sont encore plus parce qu'elles ont le nombre requis.

During the course of the discussion about bilingual services in English-speaking urban centres, other cities considered, whether census metropolitan areas or not, included Hamilton, St. Catharines, Niagara, Welland, Windsor, Calgary, or Vancouver.

Moved by Mr. Mackey, seconded by Mr. Hickman that all census metropolitan areas having a minority of at least 4,000 French home language population, including Toronto, Hamilton, Winnipeg, Edmonton, Vancouver, be recommended for provision of services in both official languages under section 9(2) of the Act. Before the vote was taken and following the coffee break Mr. Mackey with the support of Mr. Hickman changed the motion to add St. Catharines - Niagara to the list of cities. The motion was adopted by a vote of 8 pro, 0 con, with no abstentions and one member absent.

The Chairman interrupted the discussion to report that Father Regimbal had announced his vote for the resolutions for which he had not been present during the last part of the last meeting as reported in the minutes of the previous meeting. The Chairman wished to have it recorded in the minutes of the current meeting from page 56 to the end that Father Regimbal in each instance has added his vote to the vote of the majority.



In returning to the discussion of urban centres Mr. Mackey said he would like to include in the motion reference to those French-speaking census metropolitan areas in Quebec having a minority English home language population of at least 4,000 which would mean adding Quebec City, Montreal and Chicoutimi to the list of cities previously named in the motion. Cependant un des membres signale qu'on n'a pas encore considéré les villes du Québec et il aimerait qu'on les regarde spécifiquement. Puis une longue discussion se déroule concernant les trois régions métropolitaines de recensement de Montréal, Québec et Chicoutimi-Jonquière ainsi que la ville incorporée de Sherbrooke.

It was pointed out that the Board had already adopted a resolution recommending services for Montreal under 9(2) and similarly for Quebec City as a provincial capital. But since provincial capitals had been repeated in the list of English cities it was felt Quebec City should be specifically mentioned too. One of the Quebec representatives said that the Board had been very hard on the anglophone population in Quebec so far as bilingual districts are concerned but that the members were all agreed that the anglophone minority in the province of Quebec should be guaranteed service and this was one way of insisting on that.

The question was asked why Chicoutimi-Jonquière CMA with only 4,085 persons or 3.6% of the total population who speak English of the language of the home should be included especially in view of the Board's insistence on equality of status as a basic principle and its recognition of regional variations and the contention that French is the threatened language in Quebec and not the minority language - English. The reply was for the reason that this was an opportunity to come out with a statement that Board members believe the anglophone minority in Quebec should have guaranteed services and to provide a kind of counter-weight to the limited number of districts in Quebec.

The Chairman suggested raising the basic figure for the minority group who speak the language at home to 5,000. This would exclude both Hamilton on the English list and Chicoutimi on the French list. This is also the minimum minority language population figure used in Finland. Members agreed to this proposal.





The Board then discussed what recommendation to make about Sherbrooke which is not a census metropolitan area but an incorporated city of about 80,000 with an English language of the home minority population of over 5,000 and more if one includes nearby Lennoxville and other communities. Sherbrooke is also the main service centre adjacent to a proposed bilingual district.

To resolve the procedural problem of amending a motion already adopted, Ms. Duckworth moved, seconded by Mr. Mackey that the previous motion be reconsidered. Approved unanimously.

Ms. Duckworth moved, seconded by Mr. Mackey that it be recommended that the federal government provide services under section 9(2) of the Act in all census metropolitan areas which have a minority of whom at least 5,000 speak the language at home; that includes the CAM's of Vancouver, Edmonton, Winnipeg, Toronto, St. Catharines-Niagara and Quebec City plus the incorporated city of Sherbrooke. Motion carried unanimously with 8 votes pro, 0 con and 1 absent.

The Chairman pointed out that at the previous meeting (see p. 57 of minutes) the motion moved by Mme Raymond and seconded by Mr. Mackey that Montreal be dealt with under section 9(2) as for other large metropolitan centres had been adopted on a split vote. With the addition of Father Regimbal's vote it would now read that the motion had been carried with 5 votes in favour, 1 opposed and 3 abstentions (excluding the Chairman who was not voting).

Mr. Cartwright was asked to check the statistics to make sure that no urban area or incorporated city like Sherbrooke, especially in the Montreal area, with over 5,000 minority language population which should be included in the recommendation for services under 9(2), had been inadvertently omitted.

#### VI - Etude d'autres recommandations qui doivent être intercalées dans le rapport final.

(voir la liste de 13 items préparée par le président, distribuée aux membres au commencement de la réunion et attachée à l'ordre du jour)



The Chairman pointed out that the Board had just dealt with item (6) in the list he had retrieved in his search through the 15 looseleaf volumes of proceedings for material that might be considered with other recommendations. Item (6) was about "large metro centres outside bilingual districts and provincial capital cities. He felt this was so important it should be dealt with first in the report.

The Chairman briefly recapitulated the discussion which had been held about the first five items in the list at the beginning of the afternoon meeting.

- (1) For the record, the Board had already decided at a previous meeting not to list any areas outside recommended districts for consideration by the next Board because there would be a ten year interval and another Board would undoubtedly undertake a complete review of all potential areas anyway.
- (2) Concerning possible recommendations for public enlightenment and education about the Official Languages Act, bilingual districts, etc. Decided to recommend to the Secretary of State that some means be taken to inform the public about these matters. Agreed that the Chairman should include this in the draft of the report among "other recommendations".
- (3) Concerning education, especially provision of technical education in French raised by Dr. Lamontagne. It was suggested that the Board refer to the fact that it had encountered requests for technical education during its visits and that it supported the request for such services. Some members urged caution in dealing with this subject. On devrait noter une constatation, et faire état du désir qui avait été exprimé, mais ne pas aller plus loin. D'accord.
- (4) Concerning provision of radio and television services in both official languages to minority language communities.

The Secretary reported on his discussions with the Vice President (Planning and Development) and other officials of the CBC. He was convinced



that when the extended coverage plan announced recently by the Secretary of State was completed on an accelerated basis within five years, the problem would be progressively and finally fully solved. The population criteria for provision of service to minority language communities was even lower than the criteria the Board had been using so that all potential bilingual districts plus other areas or communities would soon be provided with service no matter whether bilingual districts were proclaimed or not.

Reservations were expressed about the need or desirability of making any specific recommendations other than mentioning that the subject had been raised during visits. Un autre point mentionné est celui de l'ouest spécialement où les programmes de langue française ne correspondent pas aux besoins régionaux ou locaux de la population. La même plainte a été exprimée à Gaspé.

17h, le président ajourne la séance.

9h, samedi le 9 mars

- (4) Continuation of the discussion about radio and television coverage and programming.

There was mention of the need for more local programming and establishment of priorities for extension of coverage but no general agreement about specific recommendations. Enfin, un membre dit qu'il préfère s'en tenir à ce qui touche les districts bilingues.

- (5) Concerning the possibility of recommending administrative changes in federal services to locate local or regional offices in bilingual districts under section 15(3).

This policy proposal had been urged by Mr. Morrison who explained his reasons for advocating it as a means of strengthening minority language communities, providing jobs and services more effectively locally than attempting to create bilingual capacities in more remote service centres with very low minority language populations where assimilation is more difficult to resist. Le Père Regimbal mentionne





comme exemple, qu'une école de langues vient d'ouvrir à Sudbury pour les fonctionnaires fédéraux. Ça accommode les gens qui n'ont pas à aller à Ottawa.

Mais il n'y avait pas l'appui général pour l'idée de décentralisation des bureaux. A l'avis d'un membre, les recommandations non-spécifiques sont difficiles et un autre suggère que les sujets (4) et (5) étaient beaucoup trop vastes pour que le Conseil puisse faire des recommandations spécifiques.

- (6) Concernant les centres urbains importants et les capitales provinciales - déjà considérées.
- (7) Concerning the hierarchical arrangement, or three-tier concept, i.e. district, territory (or locality) and community, for provision of bilingual services proposed by Don Cartwright; and later revised to a two-tier concept.

It was pointed out that this idea had already been referred to in the Chairman's draft. It was felt that anything further should simply be in the nature of a general recommendation for consideration. Some members were of the opinion that until bilingual districts had actually been set up and there was an opportunity to determine how they worked in practice it would be premature at this time to recommend specific changes in structure. It has still to be decided if Mr. Cartwright's memoranda setting forth these proposals should be published in the appendices to the report.

- (8) Concerning the recommendation of priorities in the proclamation or implementation of bilingual districts.

The Chairman reminded members that the idea of priorities or establishing districts by stages had been proposed by Monseigneur Gosselin of Le Conseil de la Vie française en Amérique and had been discussed extensively at previous meetings of the Board. He asked members what action, if any, they wished to take.

It was suggested that a statement should be made that some list of priorities must be established by the government because it will be impossible to provide services everywhere at the same time. Possibly the report might offer ideas on the basis of which the government might consider priorities. On a constaté que le Conseil ne doit pas établir des priorités spécifiques. De plus, on considère que les gens eux-mêmes ont une responsabilité à établir les priorités.



Par exemple, si un district est nommé et que rien n'est fait, les gens vont se plaindre et on devra remédier à la situation. Or, as the Chairman summed up: pressure by the people themselves will establish priorities. Agreed.

- (9) Concerning a recommendation that the principal language or work in the federal service in Quebec should be French.

It was suggested that this idea should be discussed or presented in the report but not as a recommendation; say that it would be natural that the language of work in the federal services in Quebec would be French. La question a été posée: pourquoi restreindre cette recommandation au Québec? Donnons le même traitement aux autres régions francophones. La langue de fonctionnement dans les services fédéraux devrait être le français dans les régions francophones et l'anglais dans les régions anglophones. The Chairman suggested that any statement to this effect should be qualified to read: "just as English is the language of work in areas where the majority is English." He felt it wouldn't hurt to recommend it in this form which in any case conforms to the Board's first principle and to the guidelines already issued by the President of the Treasury Board. M. Savoie a souligné l'importance d'être très prudent à ce sujet. L'idée du français comme langue de travail au Québec a pour corollaire l'anglais comme langue de travail dans les autres provinces. Il s'exprimait contre un traitement spécial pour Québec. Il a mentionné aussi la dernière ligne dans la première version de "Aperçu historique - Québec" ébauchée par M. Mackey. The Chairman felt members were in agreement on this recommendation.

- (10) Concerning the recommendation of some kind of continuing body to follow up the work of the Advisory Board.

The Chairman summed up the question by asking what kind of a body, if any, the Board wished to recommend: a small research centre of the kind proposed by Dr. Lamontagne; some kind of quasi-judicial body to oversee government implementation of bilingual services as suggested by Dr. MacGuigan, or what? Various ideas pro and con were discussed including the location or affiliation of such a body. Dr. Lamontagne was asked to write up a report or recommendation, in consultation with Mr. Morrison, which could be sent to members for discussion at the next meeting. The Chairman said that there seemed to be strong support for the idea of a small continuing research group but not much enthusiasm for a quasi-judicial mediation board.





Concerning possible recommendations to government departments, agencies, etc., about how to interpret and implement the phrases: "principal offices" in section 9(1), and "significant demand" and "to the extent that it is feasible" in 9(2).

It was pointed out that the Board had made unsuccessful attempts to define these terms, that any definitions could only be arbitrary and that there was no basis for making an arbitrary cut-off point. It was agreed that the Board should simply keep quiet and make no recommendations about defining these terms.

- (12) The same decision held to do nothing about attempting to clarify the obscurities in sections 9(1) and (2), i.e. the same phrases mentioned above.
- (13) Concerning proposed amendments to the Official Languages Act. It had been suggested that the term "official languages districts" be substituted for the name "bilingual districts" because the latter is ambiguous and has become emotionally charged in different regions of the country for different reasons.

A second change discussed had been the 10% mother-tongue criterion but the Chairman reminded members that they had already decided against proposing any change in the Act in this respect. And there was the proposal to consider the language of the home or "langue d'usage" and other language-related data as criteria in determination of bilingual districts.

The opinion was expressed that the Board should not make too many other recommendations because it would tend to weaken the principal recommendations about districts.

La Loi sera changée à un moment donné mais c'est la responsabilité du gouvernement et non du Conseil. It was suggested that the Board should say in its report: "If the Act is ever revised here are some suggestions we wish to make because we found difficulty in interpreting and applying the law." Other difficult or debatable points that had arisen which might be mentioned included the problem of services in big cities, the necessity to draw boundaries et la permanence du district. It was agreed that the Chairman would attempt to draft something for discussion at the next meeting incorporating the various points raised, on the basis that "when" the Act is amended these points should be taken into consideration.



10:35 a.m. Brief break - pause café

10:55 a.m. Recommencement de la séance

VII - Revue des appendices proposés par le président pour le rapport final

Quelques membres étaient d'avis qu'on doit incorporer les idées dans le texte même du rapport et limiter strictement le nombre de documents à être publiés. D'autres étaient en faveur de garder pour publication les plus importants. On discutait aussi la possibilité d'inclure quelques documents de travail ou de la recherche dans un deuxième volume supplémentaire.

It was decided to name a small editorial committee, composed of the Chairman and Dr. Lamontagne, who would review the list of papers with the help of Messrs. Morrison and Cartwright and prepare a much shorter list of the documents of real substance which might be published. This list could be sent out to members in advance for consideration with more precision at the next meeting. It was also agreed to list only the research documents or working papers and not to list the reports of visits but only the dates and places of visits as in the report of the first Board.

IX - Revue de la deuxième ébauche du rapport final - première partie

There was a discussion about how to proceed with consideration of the draft and a distinction was made between matters of style or wording, and questions of substance. The latter, especially major ones to be discussed in the meeting, the former to be sent in note form in writing to the Chairman.

The Chairman pointed out that Judge Monnin had suggested in his letter that he was going to write a minority report, and he understood that Miss Duckworth was thinking of preparing a minority statement, and possibly other members as well. He felt such minority reports or statements should be listed in the table of contents. Agreed.



A question was raised about how to treat or report the views of the provinces. Should the reactions of provincial governments be specifically mentioned in all cases or not be specific? It seemed to be acceptable to leave out the names of the provinces in reference to views expressed or points made in consultation which would simply be listed without identification.

It was agreed that members should raise small points in writing to the Chairman specifying page and paragraph.

There was a discussion and decisions about style and spelling in listing names of places and members.

At the request of the Chairman each member in turn expressed his opinion about the draft of the first part of the report, and raised questions or suggested changes which were discussed and accepted or rejected by the majority.

Everyone was generally favorable and complimentary about the form or structure and the style. Members said they found it readable, enjoyable and the quality of writing excellent. Mr. Mackey called it "a very accurate and honest reflection of our thinking". Parmi d'autres observations et quelques réservations M. Savoie a dit à M. Fox: "Vous avez fait un effort extraordinaire pour reproduire, pour donner, pour exposer tout le travail que nous avons fait pendant deux ans." Dans sa lettre du 4 mars au président M. Monnin s'est exprimé dans le même sens en écrivant: "Le rapport de 88 pages est très bien rédigé et sans parcourir les divers procès-verbaux je crois que c'est un résumé très bien fait de ce que nous avons discuté pendant 18 mois."

Mais l'unanimité d'opinion ne se maintient pas si fortement en ce qui concerne la longueur et le contenu de l'ébauche. M. Monnin continue: "Je le trouve beaucoup, beaucoup trop long car il y en a encore au moins une fois autant si pas plus à venir." M. Savoie était du même avis qu'il est "fortement long" avec "énormément de détail" qu'il ne "trouve pas nécessaire et pas directement lié étroitement au mandat." Selon lui il faut garder seulement





l'essentiel. Suivant M. Monnin: "un lecteur attentif verra fort bien que les discussions ont été difficiles, parfois pénibles et que comme conseil consultatif nous mettons en doute la législature et son fonctionnement ce qui n'est pas du tout notre tâche".

Mais les autres membres n'étaient pas d'accord avec ses opinions. "C'est un document très clair." "Ce n'est pas nécessairement trop long". dit-on, "Je pense que répéter des choses, ça permet aux gens de comprendre." But some felt perhaps it was a little too long and repetitious in spots so that it could be tightened up but not cut too much or the sense it gave of the process of a group thinking its way through a difficult problem would be lost. Mr. Fox reminded members that the Board had been asked to present a fairly full and detailed report that would give the government the benefit of the thinking of the group and some policy choices.

The majority agreed that while there might be some minor cuts or revisions the present length was satisfactory. The possibility of shortening several sections, or of including the working papers on which some of these were based in the appendices, was discussed without clear agreement, for example, the sections dealing with the Finnish system of districts, the concept of communities, territories and districts, the debate with the Official Languages Commissioner (majority opinion in favor of retaining with slight modifications), and the review of the Act (agreement for possible reduction or elimination.)

It was agreed that the paragraphs should be shorter, that they should be grouped by subject and numbered with more frequent titles for substantive sections; also that another title should be found in place of "Introduction". Major division into Findings, Conclusions and Recommendations was suggested. However, it was agreed that in general the style of presentation should be left to the Chairman.

Complete indexing was urged but it was felt to be too difficult and time consuming.

Le Père Regimbal a posé la question: "Est-ce qu'on prend une position comme commission?" A son avis toute la section: "Issues and rationale", est



extrêmement importante. Il aimerait pouvoir revenir sur cette section à la prochaine réunion. The Chairman explained that in the conclusion which he had not yet had time to draft he intended to sum up, to give "a resume" of our position - and in that sense there would be a position stated. He outlined his understanding of the working process. At the next meeting the Board would go over the whole finished draft and members could then explore any points they wanted in the light of what has been said up to the present. He was not taking this portion as final unless members felt otherwise. Agreed.

Certain minor changes were suggested by various members on specific points of which the Chairman took note for his later revision.

#### X - Date de la prochaine séance

Le président donne son appréciation du travail encore à faire et de l'horaire probable ou possible. Il a suggéré qu'une seule autre réunion sera suffisante. D'autres n'étaient pas d'accord. A l'avis de plusieurs, au moins deux autres séances seront nécessaires.

Après exploration intensive des dates possibles on a décidé que la séance aurait lieu lundi et mardi, les 20 et 21 mai. Les membres n'étaient pas tous disponibles avant ces dates. Le secrétaire doit communiquer immédiatement avec le Juge Monnin.

#### XI - Revue des ébauches des introductions provinciales pour le rapport final

At the request of Mrs. Carrothers there was a brief discussion of provincial introductions. The Chairman pointed out the lack of uniformity of style and approach.

It was agreed that the members responsible would supply the Chairman with all the necessary information and that he would rewrite or edit them in order to achieve some unity or standarization. These would be ready for the next meeting when members could discuss them.





XI - Autres affaires: aucune

13h10 L'ajournement proposé par M. Mackey, appuyé  
par M. Lamontagne. Adopté à l'unanimité.

Neil Morrison  
Secrétaire général

Paul Fox  
Président







Bilingual Districts  
Advisory Board  
Ottawa K1A 0M5



Conseil consultatif  
des Districts bilingues  
Ottawa K1A 0M5

May 28, 1974

The Hon. Don R. Getty,  
Minister of Federal and  
Intergovernmental Affairs,  
318 Legislative Building,  
Edmonton, Alberta.  
T5K 2B6

Dear Mr. Getty:

Thank you very much for your letter of May 21, 1974, presenting the views of the Government of Alberta on the subject of bilingual districts in your province. Our Secretary General, Mr. Morrison, has forwarded a copy of your letter and statements to me here in Toronto. I am pleased to receive it and I will present it to the Board at its next meeting which will be held in Ottawa on June 14 and 15.

Thank you again for writing to me and submitting the views of your government.

Yours faithfully,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Paul Fox".

Paul Fox  
Chairman





seil consultatif  
Districts bilingues  
wa K1A 0M5

974

Hon. Horst A. Schmid  
Minister of Culture,  
Youth and Recreation,

Hon. L.D. Hyndman  
Minister of Education

324 Legislative Building  
Edmonton, Alberta  
T5K 2B6

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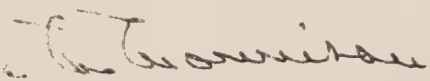
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in process of preparation at the present time.

Once again, I would like to thank you on  
behalf of the Board for your concern and cooperation in  
the matter of possible federal bilingual districts in  
the province of Alberta.

Yours sincerely,

cc: Hon. H. Schmid  
Hon. L.D. Hyndman  
Prof. P. Fox  
Mrs. A.W.R. Carrothers

  
N.M. Morrison  
Secretary General



Bilingual Districts  
Advisory Board  
Ottawa K1A 0M5



Conseil consultatif  
des Districts bilingues  
Ottawa K1A 0M5

May 23, 1974

The Hon. Don R. Getty,  
Minister of Federal and  
Intergovernmental Affairs,  
318 Legislative Building,  
Edmonton, Alberta.  
T5K 2B6

Dear Mr. Getty:

I am writing to acknowledge and thank you for your letter of May 21 addressed to Prof. Paul Fox, Chairman of the Bilingual Districts Advisory Board, which arrived in our office here in Ottawa this morning.

As you probably know, the members of the Advisory Board are all serving on a part-time basis and with one exception, are normally not in Ottawa. Prof. Fox lives and works in Toronto and comes to Ottawa for meetings and consultations from time to time. However, we are in touch by telephone almost daily and I will report the receipt of your letter to him today and forward a copy to him as well as to other members of the Board for their information.

I am sure the Board will be happy to have the statement of views of the Government of Alberta and that they will appreciate the time and thought you and your colleagues have devoted to this matter. The next meeting of the Board will be held on June 14 and 15 and I expect that your letter will be discussed at that time. For your information, the draft report of the Board is in process of preparation at the present time.

Once again, I would like to thank you on behalf of the Board for your concern and cooperation in the matter of possible federal bilingual districts in the province of Alberta.

Yours sincerely,

cc: Hon. H. Schmid  
Hon. L.D. Hyndman  
Prof. P. Fox  
Mrs. A.W.R. Carrothers

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "N.M. Morrison".

N.M. Morrison  
Secretary General





FEDERAL AND  
INTERGOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS

403/229-3967

Office of  
the Minister

318 Legislative Building  
Edmonton, Alberta, Canada T5K 2B6

May 21, 1974

Professor Paul Fox, Chairman,  
Bilingual Districts Advisory Board,  
Ottawa, Ontario,  
K1A 0M5.

Dear Professor Fox:

In your meeting with the Honourable Horst Schmid on June 29th, in Edmonton, you requested the views of the Government of Alberta on the preliminary draft maps of the three federal bilingual districts in Alberta which the Bilingual Districts Advisory Board had tentatively delineated for discussion purposes.

As you maybe aware, the Government of Alberta believes that the federal government should provide necessary bilingual services under section 9(2) of the Official Languages Act, in those areas where there is significant demand for such services, without proclaiming bilingual districts in the province.

We believe that, if this approach were adopted, effective federal services could be provided for the people of Alberta consistent with provincial programs and services which are delivered within a general framework of enhancing the cultural and linguistic diversity of the province.

We appreciate receiving these preliminary and tentative drafts of the maps delineating the proposed bilingual districts, and the time that you and members of your Board have taken to consult with us prior to making your final report to the federal government.

Sincerely,

Don R. Getty  
MINISTER

cc: Hon. H. Schmid  
Hon. L.D. Hyndman

*6.6.74*  
*May 23/74*







SECURITY CLASSIFICATION

TO: Members  
Bilingual Districts Advisory Board

DATE: 15 May 1974

TO: N.M. Morrison

FROM: N.M. Morrison  
DE: Secretary General

May 15, 1974

SUBJECT  
OBJET

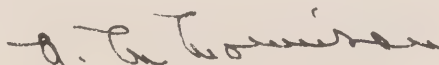
LANGUAGE POLICY IN QUEBEC

In case you failed to notice them among the flood of clippings we are sending you, I would like to bring to your attention some articles about the language legislation which the government of Quebec is expected to introduce in the Legislature next week or early the following week. The Montreal STAR wrote the story on its front page last Saturday under the heading: "French to be only official language - Bilingual caucus told of policy, English M.N.A.'s upset". The Premier and the Minister of Education briefed Liberal members on Friday supposedly in private but there must have been massive leaks. On Monday, May 13, le DEVOIR also had quite a full coverage with an article by Pierre O'Neill on page 1 under the headline: "Québec entend mettre son pouvoir économique au service du français". Au commencement de son article, M. O'Neill a écrit au sujet du "projet de loi linguistique que le gouvernement Bourassa déposera ces prochains jours à l'Assemblée nationale...", "Soumis à la réflexion des députés libéraux réunis en caucus secret vendredi à Québec, le document prévoit en outre:...". Plus loin dans l'article, M. O'Neill a cité les prévisions détaillées de plusieurs articles du projet. C'est ce que j'ai trouvé fortement intéressant parce qu'il semble que le projet de loi, si on peut croire les renseignements des journalistes francophones et anglophones, est plus détaillé, plus fort et plus exigeant que ce dont j'ai entendu dire. Aussi cela aurait, à mon avis, des implications assez directes en ce qui concerne les recommandations du Conseil consultatif pour les districts bilingues au Québec et pour le raisonnement qui donne appui à ces recommandations.



Il me semble qu'à sa prochaine réunion, le Conseil doit considérer la nouvelle législation du Québec et faire un examen de ses recommandations à la lumière des exigences apparemment proposées au sein de la nouvelle politique québécoise. Par exemple: à part d'autres sections mentionnées dans le STAR de Montréal et spécialement l'article du DEVOIR, il y avait le paragraphe suivant dans un article dans LA PRESSE du 13 mai: "Si 10 p. cent de la communauté desservie le désire, la Régie de la langue dotera d'une juridiction bilingue tout organisme public (municipalité, commission scolaire, hôpital, etc.)".

Si je me souviens bien, M. Mackey, parmi d'autres membres, a suggéré à la dernière réunion du Conseil qu'il serait important de tenir compte de la politique du gouvernement du Québec quand elle serait annoncée publiquement. Il me semble qu'il serait sage de prendre en considération cette nouvelle politique avant de reviser l'ébauche finale du rapport. As you probably know, the language pot is beginning to boil vigorously again in Quebec not only because of the proposed legislation but also because of the school situation at Laval on Ile Jésus, in the Laurentians and the dispute at Schefferville, to cite only three current controversies.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "N.M. Morrison". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a long horizontal stroke at the end.

N.M. Morrison



Board Members

FROM: Neil Morrison

1/1

12 May 1974

Quebec Bill #22 - loi sur la langue officielle

I am sure you will all want to read the text of the language legislation introduced in the National Assembly in Quebec on Tuesday. We have ordered copies of the Bill but they have not yet arrived. Meanwhile yesterday, Le Jour printed "le texte intégral du Bill 22" and the Montreal Star printed "full text of Quebec French language Bill". We managed to buy extra copies of The Star and have sent most members of the Board copies of the 1st and second sections which contain the text plus news stories and editorial comments. We were unable to buy enough extra copies of Le Jour to send you the text of the law in French but this has been reproduced by the clipping service of the Secretary of State Department along with most of the other newspaper reports, comments and editorials principally from the English and French press. We have asked them for extra copies of clippings and will send them out early in the week so that you will have the text of the Bill in both languages plus newspaper coverage and reaction.

The way in which the story has been presented in Montreal, Ottawa and Toronto papers is interesting and offers some amusing or not so amusing contrast of interpretation. For example, Le Jour's front page headlines on the principal story where "Le P.Q. s'immobilise contre le projet de loi sur la langue officielle - le Bill 22 maintient le libre choix des parents"; whereas the Ottawa Citizens' front page story was headed "No choice for immigrants - Quebec's language Bill puts curb on English"; the Ottawa Journal's had a headline was "Quebec decides it's French only" while the Toronto Star writers took a lofty moral view with the heading "Quebec Language Bill immoral, critics say". The editorial comment is also interesting and varied. We will send copies to you for your information as they come in.

Neil Morrison











Members

Bilingual Districts Advisory Board

Secretary General

SECURITY - CLASSIFICATION - DE SÉCURITÉ

OUR FILE - N/RÉFÉRENCE

YOUR FILE - V/RÉFÉRENCE

DATE

June 6, 1974

SUBJECT Arrangements for Extension of the work of the Advisory Board  
OBJET after June 30, 1974.

At the last meeting of the Board on March 8 and 9 it was agreed that the Chairman and the Secretary should undertake negotiations with the Secretary of State Department about the necessary financial authorization for additional expenditures during the current (1974-75) fiscal year and other administrative arrangements to permit the continuation of the work of the Board beyond June 30. Since the last meeting I have had several discussions in person and by telephone with various officials of the Department, including Mr. Peter Roberts, Assistant Under Secretary of State - Cultural Affairs and Mr. Bruce Keith, Director of the Language Programmes Branch. The Chairman, with whom I have consulted regularly by telephone, has asked me to send you a brief note reporting on the outcome of our discussions.

1. Approval has been given for the expenditure of additional funds since the beginning of the current fiscal year on April 1st. At present, costs, which have been minimal, are being paid for out of the estimates provided for Mr. Keith's branch. Later, possibly in September, it may be necessary to request Treasury Board authorization of supplementary estimates or a transfer of funds. Until we are more certain about the likely dates for completion of the report itself and the supplementary research volume and their size it is difficult to make reasonably accurate estimates of cost, especially for printing.

...2



2. New contracts for the services of Mr. Cartwright and myself for the fiscal year 1974-75 have been drawn up and approved. These replace the previous contracts which expired on March 30, 1974. They may be cancelled by either party at any time on one week's notice.
3. Contracts for other staff members which had previously been renewed until June 30, 1974 will be further extended for an indefinite period as required during the current fiscal year. The exception is Mme Pilon who is on loan from Information Canada under a special salary arrangement which the Treasury Board has refused to renew again beyond June 30, 1974.
4. Two clerical staff members have been released, a typist, Mme Gabrielle Mouaga and a secretary, Mlle Pierrette Simard. If additional secretarial help is required from time to time to handle the workload, temporary help will be employed.

Mr. Peter Katznelson, an honors graduate in geography of Carleton University, recommended to Don Cartwright by the head of the department as a very able student has been employed for the summer on contract to assist in the preparation of maps, charts and other graphics for the supplementary volume of research data. He has also had practical working experience in this field with the Mapping Branch of the Department of Energy, Mines and Resources and elsewhere.

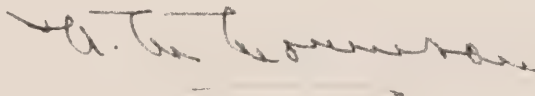
5. For your information about other staff changes, our genial, efficient confidential messenger, Claude Lalonde resigned on short notice last week to take another clerical job as a temporary employee with the public service. We were sorry to lose him but this new position will give him better opportunities to find permanent employment and for advancement in the public service. After interviewing three applicants sent by the local Manpower Centre we have hired a young man, Richard Poirier, to replace Claude. He will start next Monday, also on contract, initially for a three month period but longer if necessary. Meanwhile, because of Claude Lalonde's departure and the illness of Andrée Barré we have been short two staff members all this week which has meant that the load has had to be carried by





Clairette Pilon and Pauline LeBlanc. Since 2 or 3 Board members will be here for meetings and work next week prior to the meeting, the Chairman has suggested that if possible we hire temporary secretarial help on a stand-by basis.

6. Approval has been secured from Public Works Canada through the Accommodation Division of Secretary of State to extend the lease for our premises in Trafalgar House from June 30 to December 31, 1974.
7. The Secretary of State Department strongly approves the publication in a second volume of the results of the research work carried out on behalf of the Board. I am writing you a separate memo on this subject.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'N.M. Morrison', with a horizontal line underneath.

N.M. Morrison





MEMORANDUM

NOTE DE SERVICE

Mr. N.M. Morrison,  
Secretary General,  
Bilingual Districts Advisory Board

J.D. Hummel,  
Communications Manager,  
Accommodation Division,  
Administrative Services

SECURITY - CLASSIFICATION - DE SÉCURITÉ

OUR FILE - N/RÉFÉRENCE

YOUR FILE - V/RÉFÉRENCE

DATE

6 June, 1974

FROM  
DE

SUBJECT  
OBJET

I am pleased to inform you that the lease for your premises in Trafalgar House has successfully been extended to December 31, 1974.

Public Works Canada have advised us by letter on 23 May, 1974 of the extension beyond the previously requested deadline of June 30, 1974.

J.D. Hummel





MEMORANDUM

NOTE DE SERVICE

TO  
A  
Mr. G.M. Gaudreau  
Manager, Accommodation,  
General Administration Branch,  
Secretary of State  
130 Slater Street

FROM  
DE  
N.M. Morrison  
Secretary General  
Bilingual Districts Advisory Board  
110 Argyle Avenue

SECURITY CLASSIFICATION DE SÉCURITÉ

OUR FILE N° REFERENCE

510-1 ✓

YOUR FILE V° REFERENCE

DATE

April 26, 1974

SUBJECT  
OBJET

Extension of lease for office accommodation at 110 Argyle Avenue  
for the Bilingual Districts Advisory Board

As you requested, I am writing to confirm our telephone conversation about the extension of the lease for the office premises presently occupied by the Bilingual Districts Advisory Board, at 110 Argyle Avenue, for some months beyond June 30, 1974. As I told you, it is now clearly apparent that the Board will not have finished its task by the end of June as previously expected and it is unlikely that the work will finally be wound up for some months after that date. Consequently, it will be necessary to extend the contracts of employment of staff members and to retain office space in which meetings can be held and the work carried on.

At the request of the Board, the necessity for extension of the life of the Board was discussed earlier with Mr. Roberts and Mr. Keith who fully understand the situation. The allocation of additional funds for the payment of expenditures incurred in connection with the Board's work during the fiscal year of 1974-75 has been authorized and staff contracts which terminated at the end of March or June are being renewed or extended for a further period of time. Mr. Keith called me this week to ask me to get in touch with you to make sure that the necessary arrangements were made to permit the Board to continue to occupy these premises.

In view of the unreliability of the previous predictions about when the Board would complete its work and the extensions which have already been requested, I hesitate to make any firm promises about how much additional time will be required. Indeed the Chairman and members of the Board hold different opinions on what would be possible. Until a few weeks ago, some of the more optimistic members still hoped to be finished by the end of June, whereas the more pessimistic or realistic members felt that it would be at least October and possibly December before everything was completed. It seems likely that it will be November before the clean-up work is done following submission and publication of the











MEMORANDUM

NOTE DE SERVICE

TO: M. L. Lamontagne  
Membre  
Conseil consultatif des  
Districts bilingues

FROM: W.M. Morrison  
DI Secrétaire général

le 26 avril 1974

Ce matin j'ai parlé au téléphone avec Paul et je lui ai mentionné votre suggestion de la possibilité d'avoir une réunion du comité d'édition le 30 mai ou le 6 juin à Toronto.

Paul n'est pas contre l'idée mais malheureusement il a encore des réunions le 30 mai avec Léon Dion et d'autres académiques comme Blair Neatby qui composent un comité nommé par le Conseil des Arts dans le domaine des études avancées.

Il semble que le 6 juin est une possibilité mais Paul a suggéré que nous devrions nous consulter plus tard en mai. S'il n'est pas convenable de se réunir à Toronto, il peut facilement venir ici à Ottawa pour une ou deux journées.

W.M. Morrison









MEMORANDUM

NOTE DE SERVICE

TO  
A  
Members  
Bilingual Districts Advisory Board  
c.c. D.G. Cartwright

SECURITY CLASSIFICATION - DE SÉCURITÉ

OUR FILE - N. RÉFÉRENCE

FROM  
DE  
Secretary General

YOUR FILE - V. RÉFÉRENCE

DATE

June 7, 1974

SUBJECT  
OBJET

Publication of Special Study

Following the last meeting of the Board (March 8 and 9) at which the members unanimously voted for the resolution moved by M. Regimbal and seconded by M. Lamontagne (see minutes, p.13) approving the publication of the supplementary research in a separate volume as a special study prepared under the auspices of the Board, I discussed this proposal again with senior officials of the Secretary of State Department as suggested by the Chairman.

Both Mr. Peter Roberts and Mr. Bruce Keith had previously expressed general approval of the idea of publishing as much of the statistical data as feasible. Shortly after the Board meeting, I had another meeting with them in Mr. Roberts' office to discuss financial and administrative matters. I told them about the Board's decision. Their reaction to the idea of a supplementary volume was most favorable.

Subsequently I have had two further meetings with Mr. Keith, the latest one last week when Col. Cyrille Falardeau, liaison officer with the Board and Mlle Larue, financial and administrative assistant for the Branch, were also present. At both these meetings held in my office, we discussed further, in relation to timetable, costs and administrative arrangements, the question of publishing the research studies and analyses of census statistical data in a special volume supplementary to the report containing the Board's findings, conclusions and recommendations to the government. I described the kind of material we had in statistical tabular form using data from the language-related questions in the 1971 and previous censuses. Mr. Keith was already familiar with some of this material and was aware of the uses to which it could be put by the government in implementing policy from his work with the Secretary of State, the Treasury Board and on

...2





interdepartmental committees. He thought that analyses and presentation of data in various breakdowns derived from the questions on language of the home and official languages as well as mother tongue would be very valuable.

Don Cartwright and I also showed Mr. Keith and the others some samples of the graphic and cartographic work which Don and Maurice Simoneau had prepared for the use of the Board and of the kind of mapping work Peter Katznelson has started to do under Don Cartwright's direction. They seemed to be most impressed with the extent and quality of the material already available.

Each time we have discussed this question of publication of a special research and statistical volume Mr. Keith has been strongly, even increasingly in favor; in fact, almost insistent that it should be done. He felt it would not only be of real value and use for federal government departments and agencies but also for provincial governments as well as for teaching and research purposes in universities and colleges. He was aware that practically nothing of this kind was available particularly using the data from the 1971 census.

I asked him the question the Chairman had raised about whether such a study might better be published and paid for by say, the Secretary of State Department or the Treasury Board. Mr. Keith was opposed to this idea and quite emphatic that it should be published under the auspices of the Board. He felt this would be preferable and proper and would maintain the necessary independence. In estimating the remaining costs incurred in completing the Board's work the cost of compiling, writing and publishing a supplementary special studies volume would be included. I explained how we planned to proceed and that Mr. Cartwright and I hoped to have the essential work, except for printing, finished by the end of the summer, that is by early September, if at all possible, since Don was committed to his University of Western Ontario appointment and I was seriously considering going to France for a holiday and to study.

In brief, we have the approval and support of the Secretary of State Department for the publication of a special research volume supplementary to the report itself containing the Board's recommendations to the government.

N.M. Morrison







L. Lamontagne  
March 19, 1974

It has been suggested to the Bilingual Districts Advisory Board by a number of people, namely by two members of Parliament, that a continuing body be appointed to carry on the operations during the interim period between two boards along the lines of the HARMEL Centre in Belgium.

That Committee should be independent from any government department or agency; it should report to the Secretary of State, like the Board. It should consist of three to five members among whom should be a linguist, a lawyer-social scientist and a geographer-statistician, all preferably coming from different regions of the country.

The Bilingual districts advisory committee would have as its main duties:

- a) to investigate in various parts of the country the reactions of the populations to the general implementation of the Act and in particular to the establishment of bilingual districts and services.
- b) to advise the government on general language policy and in particular on the national solution of specific problems arising out of the implementation of the Act.



- c) to organize local and regional voluntary advisory groups with the aim of exchanging information about bilingual district policy.
- d) to assemble statistical and geographical data on census divisions, population migration, language transfers, etc., in particular at the mid-decade census.
- e) to act as the Board's permanent staff and to contribute to accelerate this task in clearing up many editorial, publicative, administrative and research problems after the old Board and before the new one.
- f) to prepare publications of interest to the Canadian population regarding the effects of bilingualization of federal services in different parts of the country.

Convinced of the useful role of such an organization, the Board is pleased to recommend that a permanent committee consisting of three to five members, reporting to the Secretary of State be appointed to investigate on the best means of implementing the bilingual districts Act without unduly alienating local majorities and to conduct research and interpret data on language statistics in Canada.





- a) to estimate the impact of the Television education/  
culture Saskatchewan-Quebec Exchange Experiment  
(1977-78) through Communications Technology  
Satellite for the maintenance of French language  
and culture and of permanent links between  
Saskatchewan (Prince-Albert/Zenon Park area) and  
Quebec (Baie St. Paul area) French communities.
  
- b) to recommend similar cultural and educational  
satellite communication programmes for other  
exposed small communities in coordination with  
universities and government departments involved.













CONFIDENTIAL

BILINGUAL DISTRICTS ADVISORY BOARD

Possible Introduction to Atlantic Region

December 13, 1973

by PAUL FOX

French settlement on the Atlantic coast preceded settlement by the French in Quebec and by the English in other parts of North America. Early in 1604, four years before Champlain founded Quebec and 16 years before the Mayflower landed at Plymouth Rock, a group of French settlers established themselves on the west coast of the Bay of Fundy. The following spring they sailed across to what is now called the Annapolis Valley in Nova Scotia to found Canada's oldest permanent settlement.

From these origins sprang the colony which the French called Acadia. Although it was much neglected by the French imperial authorities and continually embroiled in wars between France and Britain, the colony grew by the force of its own determination to a population exceeding 10,000 by the middle of the eighteenth century. During the earlier part of the period Acadia was captured four times by the English and returned four times to France after negotiations. However, in 1713, by the Treaty of Utrecht Britain acquired permanent possession of mainland Nova Scotia where the bulk of the Acadian population resided.

The position of the Acadians was precarious. They lived under British rule in a time and region beset by recurring conflicts between Britain and their French ex-compatriots. In 1755, when another full-scale war broke out between Britain and France, the Acadian position became untenable. Alarmed by the possibility of having a French fifth column in their Nova Scotian colony, the British authorities rounded up the Acadian population, forced them on board ships, and set them off to different parts of the British Empire. Most of the Acadians were expelled in this way by 1763. According to the census, in 1767 there were only 921 Acadians left in Nova Scotia and 147 in New Brunswick.



Yet the Acadians had so much resilience and pertinacity that they not only reconstituted their community but they developed it at a remarkable pace. By the end of the eighteenth century small groups were making their way back to the Maritime provinces, by sea or by land, from the places of their exile. Avoiding the areas where they had lived before and where they would be most noticeable to the British authorities whom they naturally feared, they settled in isolated groups along the northern coast of New Brunswick and Cape Breton, adding their numbers to those other Acadians who had escaped the expulsion by hiding in the woods and making their way north to the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

The reconstitution of Acadia was a slow and difficult process. Because they had returned in small separate groups, and because they were not anxious for the authorities to know of their return, the Acadians were, at first, largely unknown to one another. Moreover, during their period of isolation, Scottish and Irish settlers established the Roman Catholic Church as an English-speaking institution in the Maritimes. Thus when the church came to the Acadians, it came in English. By the middle of the nineteenth century there were four Roman Catholic dioceses in the Maritimes, but none had a French bishop. Nova Scotia had no French priest, and the few who served in New Brunswick had been despatched by the bishop of Quebec.

In an age when education was generally still considered a religious responsibility, the lack of French parishes retarded the educational development of the Acadians. Although a few priests did open schools, which eventually were aided by government subsidies after the 1840's in Nova Scotia and the 1850's in New Brunswick, much of the instruction was still provided at the time of Confederation by wandering pedagogues who taught a few lessons in a barn in one village or a few lessons in a house at another. In the 1850's a French sailor who jumped ship off the northern coast of New Brunswick could still find himself so far the best educated man in the village where he landed that he was able to open and run a school successfully. A study of the Acadians in 1859 observed that many had learned to read and write but that their learning went no further than that.



It is not surprising, therefore, that no Acadian newspaper appeared before 1867, or that although one Acadian sat in the New Brunswick legislature after 1846, none represented the Acadians in the Maritime governments of 1864-7 which participated in the conferences at Charlottetown, Quebec, and London that led to Confederation. The only French-speaking Catholics represented in the constitution-making process were those in Quebec. Yet these were scarcely even aware of the existence of the Acadians. As late as the 1880's Quebec newspapers were reporting with great amazement that travellers to the Maritimes had reported the existence of French-speaking communities there. Thus, although the French-Canadian fathers of Confederation were careful to ensure constitutional guarantees for their group in Quebec, they did little that would help the Acadians.

Yet the Acadian people continued to grow very rapidly. In little more than a century, from the first census after the expulsion to the first census after Confederation, their numbers in New Brunswick alone increased from 147 in 1767 to 44,907 in 1871. When Confederation occurred, they amounted to 16 percent of the province's population, but by the beginning of the twentieth century, they had reached 24 percent and by 1961 39 percent. Most of the 215,725 New Brunswickers whose mother tongue was French in 1971 were descendants of those few families who had made their way back from exile with great difficulty two centuries previously. While they amounted to about a third of the total provincial population in 1971, their concentration in northern New Brunswick gave them preponderance in many localities there. The 1971 census shows that a number of communities in northern counties have populations which are from 90 to 100 percent French-speaking by maternal tongue.

The remarkable strength of the French language in New Brunswick was achieved largely without any official support. The British North America Act gave no official status to the French language in the Maritimes as it did in Quebec. Moreover, within four years of Confederation the New Brunswick government had passed an act depriving Roman Catholic schools of their subsidies and insisting on teaching in English only. Although the legislation was not revoked, persistent protests from Roman Catholics did succeed in tempering it. A compromise by the provincial government in 1875 had the effect of allowing the Acadians to keep their own French-speaking schools



which were permitted to hire teachers from Quebec and use their own Roman Catholic, French language texts.

Additional reforms were achieved later. In 1905, for example, both New Brunswick and Nova Scotia introduced the use of completely French, instead of bilingual, textbooks in Acadian schools. In 1963 a French language university was founded at Moncton. In the same decade an Acadian became the premier of New Brunswick and attempts were made by the Maritime governments to provide for the use of French as well as English. In 1968 the government of New Brunswick passed an Official Languages Act which established French and English as the two official languages in the province.





QUEBEC

INTRODUCTION

APERCU HISTORIQUE

W.F. Mackey (2e version)

On est parfois porté à oublier les origines du problème linguistique du Québec puisqu'il remonte, en dernière analyse, à la découverte même du Canada.

La première colonisation européenne du Québec est d'origine française, et elle date du seizième siècle. Après nombre de tentatives de colonisation, une population francophone permanente s'est établie dans le Québec au dix-septième siècle. Bien que les colons venaient de diverses régions de France - surtout de l'Ile-de-France, Normandie et Bretagne - ils ont fini par former un peuple d'une grande homogénéité linguistique. Ce peuple comptait au milieu du dix-huitième siècle, une population de 65,000 - entièrement francophone, puisqu'il n'y avait pas de population anglophone au Québec à cette époque.

Ce n'est qu'après une longue lutte et la cession du Canada à la Grande Bretagne que le Québec a eu une population anglophone dont l'importance s'est manifestée davantage par l'arrivée des "United Empire Loyalists" durant la guerre de l'Indépendance américaine. C'est à partir de cette époque que la population anglophone qui avait une solidarité culturelle et linguistique avec les Etats-Unis et le Canada anglais, a fini par dominer la vie économique du Québec tout en assimilant de plus en plus la population francophone au fur et à mesure que celle-ci se portait vers l'urbanisation.

Cette urbanisation (qu'avait déclenchée le mouvement d'industrialisation de la province) a favorisé l'intégration de la population francophone dans le monde industriel de l'Amérique du Nord dont la réalité démographique et culturelle ne favorisa guère la survivance du français même dans les milieux à majorité francophone.

Dans le domaine juridique, la présence d'une grande majorité francophone qui, à l'époque de la conquête, possédait une langue et une culture d'un prestige mondial égales à celles des militaires britanniques, créa une situation où la reconnaissance de l'usage de la langue française s'est imposée.



Le bilinguisme officiel au Québec a donc connu une longue tradition qui remonte à l'époque de la conquête. On connaît bien le statut des deux langues sous le régime militaire (1760 à 1763) et la reconnaissance par l'Acte de Québec (1774) de la dualité culturelle. Dès lors, les débats de la législature sont tenus dans les deux langues et l'organisation juridique pose les bases de la procédure bilingue encore en usage au Québec. A la première session suivant la mise en vigueur de l'Acte constitutionnel (1791) on adopte l'usage des deux langues dans les débats et la traduction obligatoire des lois adoptées.

Même après l'Acte de 1840, unissant les deux Canada, on revient en 1849 au bilinguisme officiel. Toutes les lois sont sanctionnées dans les deux langues, de sorte que la version française fasse également foi, et on ordonne la codification dans les deux langues du droit civil du Québec.

Cette évolution du bilinguisme aboutit à l'Acte de l'Amérique du Nord britannique (1867) qui donne un statut spécial au Québec en ce qui concerne la langue. Selon l'article 133:

"Dans les Chambres du Parlement du Canada et de la législature du Québec, chacun pourra, dans les débats faire usage de la langue anglaise ou de la langue française, mais les registres et les procès verbaux des Chambres sus-dites, devront être tenus dans ces deux langues... Les Lois du Parlement du Canada et la législature du Québec devront être imprimées et publiées dans l'une et l'autre de ces langues."

Dans toute cette évolution, il ne faut pas oublier que la lutte pour le bilinguisme québécois a été menée par la population francophone dans le désir de faire reconnaître et de conserver la langue française. C'est que la langue dominante au Québec industriel a toujours été l'anglais; c'était la langue des affaires, la langue de l'industrie et souvent la langue de travail dans la plupart des domaines laïcs. La population anglophone jouissait de ses propres institutions - écoles, églises, hôpitaux, services sociaux, commerces, institutions qui fonctionnaient exclusivement en anglais.

La lutte pour la valorisation du français au Québec et au Canada continue, et c'est dans ce contexte que la Loi des langues officielles a été promulguée par le gouvernement fédéral. C'est donc dans ce même contexte que l'on devrait concevoir l'égalité des deux langues, telles que définies par la Loi.



Pour ces raisons, il serait naturel que la langue de fonctionnement des services fédéraux, au Québec, soit le français, comme l'anglais est langue de fonctionnement dans les services fédéraux en Ontario.





## PROVINCIAL INTRODUCTION

### O N T A R I O

It seems that the Official Languages Act of 1969 did not break any new ground in Ontario where bilingualism has been recognized by legislative documents since the establishment of the province.

The Constitutional Act of 1791 which detached Ontario from Quebec, far from isolating the French element of the new province, reinforced its position. The Government of Upper Canada, assembled in Newark, issued as one of its first decrees, a measure aimed at the protection of the French-speaking citizens: "Such Acts as have already passed or may hereafter pass the Legislature of this Province shall be translated into the French language for the benefit of the inhabitants of the Western district of the province and other French settlers who may come to reside within the province".<sup>1</sup>

In 1841, the Union Government at its first session in Kingston went even further and declared both French and English official languages.

In the schools, the teaching of the French language has always been officially accepted since the province came into existence. One of the clearest evidence in this respect is a letter addressed by the Ontario Minister of Education to the school trustees of Charlottenburg in Glengarry County: "I have the honour to state...that as the French is the recognized language of the country as well as the English, it is quite proper and lawful for the trustees to allow both languages to be taught in their schools to children whose parents may desire them to learn both..."<sup>2</sup>

Parents who could afford it even sent their children to schools in Lower Canada "where they acquired the French language and manners".<sup>3</sup> Students exchanges between Ontario and Quebec are still quite popular, in particular for summer courses.

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1. Journals of the Legislative Assembly of Upper Canada, 1772-1804 (Toronto 1911) p. 23.
  2. Egerton Ryerson, April 24, 1857, cited by C.B. Sissons, Bilingual Schools in Canada (Toronto 1917) p. 27.
  3. "Col John Clark Memoirs" in Ontario Historical Society, Papers and Records, vol. VII (Toronto 1906) p. 185.



The report of the Merchant-Scott-Côté Commission in 1927 recognized the rights of the first settlers and missionaries, and recommended the acceptance of certain linguistic and cultural differences.

Even the Catholic Church at the time of Regulation XVII encouraged all the ecclesiastics to be bilingual: "We urge all priests engaged in the sacred ministry to become more thoroughly conversant in the knowledge and use of the two languages and, discarding all motives of rivalry, to adopt one or the other according to the requirements of the faithful...."<sup>4</sup>

French-speaking religious orders, such as the Oblates and the Jesuits, Sisters and Brothers all made a major contribution to the moral and physical well-being of the population, particularly in educational matters at all levels.

The French minority in most areas is now better organized than ever with its social clubs, its provincial teachers, women's and men's and other associations. There is now a long tradition of recognition of the two official languages in Ontario by the provincial and some municipal governments, which has even been emphasized and more readily implemented by the last three Premiers of the province, the Honourables Frost, Robarts and Davis. In a statement made to the Legislature in May 1971, the Hon. William Davis declared that his Government was "to continue the general philosophy and program which was set in motion by (his) predecessor", that his Government has "agreed to provide wherever feasible public services in French as well as English...." He proposed at the 2nd Constitutional Conference in 1969 that "all Canadian parents should, as a matter of equity, (and in the whole of Confederation) be able to have their children educated in either or both of the official languages".

In the agreement signed in 1969 by Ontario and Quebec it was stated that:

"(1) We will provide, within the areas under our jurisdiction and whenever feasible, public services in the English and French languages;

(2) We will provide education, wherever feasible, to students of the French-speaking and English-speaking minority in the language of that minority...

---

4. Benedict XI to the bishops of Canada, Sept. 8, 1916.



Some concentrations of French-speaking people have already been identified: "the counties and districts of Stormont, Glengarry, Prescott, Russell, Carleton, Nipissing, Temiscaming, Welland and parts of the counties of Essex and Renfrew". Bilingual staff will be provided; translation services are already at work; municipalities will be helped to improve their facilities; the Department of Justice is trying to expand the provision of bilingual services, both verbal and written; language training facilities are being provided and in the Legislature "every member...may as a matter of right...address the House in either of the two official languages of Canada".

In the education area, at the secondary level, 38 bilingual schools have been developed of which 23 offer the entire school program in the French language.

In his conclusion, Premier Davis stated that "Ontario has made a solid commitment to the principle of bilingualism as a matter of equity for our own residents and as a large contribution to the continued and future strength of Canada".<sup>5</sup>

Although the present government is not ready to create bilingual districts which would correspond to geographically defined areas, the Board feels confident that bilingual services will be implemented by the province where it is feasible and profitable.

- 
5. Statement by the Honourable William Davis, Prime Minister of Ontario on the Bilingualism Program of the Government of Ontario in the Legislature, Monday, May 3rd, 1971.

Revised  
Ottawa  
November 30, 1973

L. Lamontagne





Government  
of Canada

Gouvernement  
du Canada

MEMORANDUM

NOTE DE SERVICE

CLASSIFICATION DE SERVICE

TO  
À

Membres  
Conseil consultatif des  
Districts bilingues

YOUR FILE / VOTRE RÉFÉRENCE

1823-180/8-9✓

YOUR FILE / VOTRE RÉFÉRENCE

FROM  
DE

Secrétaire général

DATE

le 7 mai 1974

SUBJECT

Introduction régionale de Mme Carrothers pour la Saskatchewan  
et l'Alberta

Mme Carrothers a révisé l'ébauche  
de son introduction régionale. Le président  
m'a demandé d'en envoyer des copies aux  
autres membres du Conseil.

H.B. Morrison





CONFIDENTIAL

DRAFT INTRODUCTION FOR ALBERTA AND SASKATCHEWAN

by Jane Carrothers

French settlement in the West followed the fur trade and was subsequently encouraged by the colonization movement in Quebec following the purchase of the Hudson's Bay Company's lands by Canada in 1870. Battleford was a Hudson's Bay Co. post. Willow Bunch was settled from Manitoba in the decade after Canada took over the Territories, and in 1906 Father Gravel took a number of French-Canadians to settle near there in the southern part of Saskatchewan and established Gravelbourg. Fahler in the Peace River district was named in the 1890's for an Oblate Father and other settlements nearby came later and followed the railway. Father Bonny gave his name to Bonnyville in north-eastern Alberta in 1907. The famous Father Albert Lacombe had been honored by the naming of St. Albert, and in 1905 he organized the development of St-Paul de Métis.

Equal status for French and English was extended to the legislature and courts of the Northwest Territories, later to become Alberta and Saskatchewan,



through section 133 of the British North America Act. Provision for separate schools was made by the Northwest Territories Act in 1875. When the French-speaking population became outnumbered by anglophones from Ontario and the United Kingdom and by settlers from many parts of Europe, the federal legislation on language and education became a matter for dispute in the Territories as it was in Manitoba. Even before the formation of two separate provinces in 1905 political attitudes were swinging away from the concept of equality for the English and French languages. Although the francophones retained some political representation for many years, the right to use French in the legislatures was lost by 1891. The right to use French as a language of instruction in the schools was abrogated entirely in Saskatchewan after 1920 as it was in Manitoba in 1916. In Alberta the school system was slightly more liberal and French was permitted as a language of instruction in grades 1 and 2.

In spite of almost complete negation of the original equal basis for political institutions in the Territories, the French fact was maintained



in Alberta and Saskatchewan in great part through the efforts of the French catholic clergy. Complementing the dedicated efforts of the religious orders are the provincial associations of francophones which have been active for many years. Several French language weekly newspapers as well as radio and more recently one television station, Edmonton, encourage and preserve the French language and culture.

These original settlements received few additional settlers from Quebec. Although a trickle of newcomers arrived from Quebec after World War II, the original settlements have received but few francophone reinforcements to stimulate cultural survival.

However in recent years two factors - the pervasiveness of English language television and the withdrawal of the clergy from many French language educational institutions across the Prairies - have contributed significantly to an increase in the rate of assimilation of francophones in Alberta and Saskatchewan. To illustrate, the following comparison is helpful:



In 1921 there were in Alberta 24,110 people of French racial origin. In 1971 there were 89,860. Of the latter, 46,500 claimed French as mother tongue, and of this number, 22,695 or about 40% spoke French most often at home. The figures for Saskatchewan show 33,031 people of French racial origin in 1921, compared to 56,195 in 1971. 31,605 gave French as mother tongue in that year, of whom 15,935 or about 50% spoke French most often at home. The degree of assimilation varies from place to place, being highest in the urban areas and extremely low in areas like Falher, Alberta which tend to be isolated.

To combat this trend towards assimilation the Department of the Secretary of State has invited the governments of the provinces to avail themselves of large sums for aid to bilingual education, as well as giving direct assistance in a more modest way to French language cultural programs. It will be several years before the impact and effectiveness of these various programs can be assessed, but a significant contribution has already been made in French language teacher training. There are at the present time some bilingual schools in each province, both separate and public, which accept pupils for education in both official languages regardless of their mother tongue.





The announcement in February 1974 that CBC TV coverage would be extended to any community where 300 people were of the minority official language will do more to boost the morale of francophones in the remoter parts of the Prairies than anything else the federal government could do.

The degree of language maintenance among the francophones of Alberta and Saskatchewan is the more remarkable given the lack of assistance and encouragement on the part of the provincial governments from 1905 until the recent stimulus from the federal power. The fact that almost all francophones in these provinces are bilingual, although between 40% and 50% still speak French at home, is a recognition of the fact that in the West the francophone group is but one minority among many.

The emphasis on multiculturalism found on the Prairies to-day places the francophone minority in much the same position as the minority of other ethnic groups in these provinces. The concept of two founding peoples in Canada was not readily accepted in Alberta and Saskatchewan. It is necessary to



recognize a third Canadian reality for the West - that of multiculturalism - and to find the means for this reality to coexist with the national concept of Canada as a bilingual state.



INTRODUCTION TO BRITISH COLUMBIA

by Dr. Harry Hickman

It seems ironical that British Columbia, the only Canadian province showing an increase (albeit only 1%) in the French mother tongue population, is the only Province in which the Board is unable to recommend a bilingual district. In 1971, the first Board identified the Municipality of Coquitlam, which encompasses Maillardville, as having a French-speaking population of 3,229 which was 11.1% of the total. The recent census indicates an increase (i.e. 3,335 Francophones) but, because of the rapid growth of population in this area, such is now but 6.3% of the total.

Likewise, consideration of the growing centres of Dawson Creek, Port Alberni, Prince George and Terrace showed that no area approached the required 10%.

As emphasized elsewhere in this Report, there are large numbers of Francophones "drowned" in the country's capital cities and other large urban centres. Vancouver illustrates this problem. In greater Vancouver there are 17,360 Francophones, -- almost one half of the total number in British Columbia (38,035).

The Board recommends that the Federal Government guarantee bilingual services in its principal offices in Vancouver, not only because of the 17,360 French-Canadians



who speak French there but also to assure a feeling of Canadian unity and fairness. It would be unfortunate if B.C. were different ! Citizens should feel at home in any of the ten provinces.











MEMORANDUM

NOTE DE SERVICE

TO  
À  
All Members of the Board

FROM  
DE  
Paul Fox,  
Chairman

SUBJECT  
OBJET  
Final Report

SECURITY - CLASSIFICATION - DE SÉCURITÉ
OUR FILE - N/ RÉFÉRENCE 1821-8
YOUR FILE - V/ RÉFÉRENCE
DATE May 31, 1974

I am sending you the first part of Section 2, the description of individual bilingual districts. I regret that I have not yet completed all of it, but I hope that I will have completed the section on Quebec by the time of our meeting, so that we may discuss it in addition to the material I am sending you now.

Paul Fox



CONFIDENTIAL

Continuation of Draft No. 2

Final Report

Second Part - Descriptions of Recommended Districts

Paul Fox



## SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS OF BILINGUAL DISTRICTS

We recommend the establishment of the following bilingual districts for federal purposes, according to the provisions of the Official Languages Act, 17-18 Elizabeth II, Chapter 54. Recommended districts are listed alphabetically by province from east to west in Canada.

This summary is followed by a discussion of each area considered or recommended as a bilingual district and by a detailed description of each district recommended.

### Province of Newfoundland

1. Port au Port
2. West Labrador

### Province of Prince Edward Island

1. Egmont

### Province of Nova Scotia

1. Antigonish-Inverness-Richmond
2. Digby-Yarmouth





Province of New Brunswick

1. The entire province

Province of Quebec

1. Argenteuil-Deux-Montagnes
2. Gaspé - Bonaventure
3. Gatineau - Pontiac
4. Huntingdon - Compton
5. North Shore of the Gulf of St. Lawrence

Province of Ontario

1. Cornwall-Hawkesbury
2. Laurentian
3. Midland-Penetang
4. Welland
5. Windsor-Tilbury

Province of Manitoba

1. Ellice-St. Lazare
2. Lawrence-St. Rose
3. Mountain School Division
4. Powerview-St. George
5. St. Boniface-Rouge-Seine
6. White Horse Plain School Division



Province of Saskatchewan

1. Battleford
2. Gravelbourg-Willow Bunch
3. Prince Albert
4. Prud'homme-Vonda
5. Redvers
6. Zenon Park-Arborfield

Province of Alberta

1. Falher-Peace River
2. St. Paul

DETAILED DESCRIPTION

The following information is given for each of the bilingual districts recommended on the basis of the 1971 census:

- (a) Factors considered by the Board in arriving at its decision;
- (b) Description of the territory included in the district;
- (c) Statistics provided by Statistics Canada showing the relevant total population, the numerical and percentage population of persons



in the linguistic minority in the district in respect of an official language spoken as a mother tongue, according to the 1971 census;

- (d) Federal and provincial electoral districts concerned;
- (e) Maps locating and delimiting the recommended districts.

In addition, where in a province there were census divisions or subdivisions which contained at least ten per cent of the official language minority by mother tongue according to the 1971 census but which were not recommended as bilingual districts, the divisions or subdivisions are noted in the respective provincial introduction and the Board's reasons for not recommending them as bilingual districts are given.

#### NEWFOUNDLAND

The only regions in Newfoundland that fulfil the requirement of a bilingual district by having an official language minority which by mother tongue



amounts to at least ~~ten per cent~~ of the total population are located in the areas of Port au Port and West Labrador.

Bilingual Districts Recommended in the Province of  
Newfoundland

1. Port au Port

(a) Factors

The bilingual district recommended by the Board embraces census subdivision E of census division 4 in Newfoundland, known as the Port au Port Peninsula; it contains the localities in this part of Newfoundland that have a French mother tongue population of ten or more than ten per cent. Although the district is compact, it is small both in area and in the total number of persons of the mother tongue minority. The federal services provided within the region are limited, being confined apparently to postal facilities. For these reasons some members of the Board were hesitant to recommend the creation of a bilingual district.

However, several factors led the Board to a contrary conclusion. Thus, although in 1971 the





official language minority in census subdivision E of census division 4 totalled only 795 persons, this number represented growth in the size of the minority since ten years previously the nearest comparable figure had been 749 individuals residing in an area that was somewhat more extensive. In the latter area in 1961 the minority amounted to 13.1 per cent of the total population. In the smaller area in 1971 the minority constituted 15.4 per cent of the aggregate population. The latter percentage is significantly in excess of the minimum requirement of ten per cent. The Board was influenced also by its findings derived from a visit to the area and from consultations with local residents. The Board discovered that the minority has made considerable effort recently to keep its culture alive and to revitalize it. Some local residents have organized French clubs whose activities include the provision of instruction in the French language. They also have established premises which the clubs can use for their meetings. The federal department of the Secretary of State has provided the services of a social animator. The leaders of the minority in the community were enthusiastically in



favour of the creation of a bilingual district and the local member of the provincial House of Assembly and the government of Newfoundland shared this enthusiasm. The local member of Parliament also approved. Finally, the First Bilingual Districts Advisory Board recommended the establishment of a bilingual district in the Port au Port area, in part because it believed that such a provision would recognize the existence of the local minority and encourage it to develop. The Second Board has found evidence of such development. For these reasons a strong majority of the Board recommends the establishment of a bilingual district in the Port au Port area described below.

(Note to Members of the Board: At this point, after such a description of the factors relevant to the specific district, the Final Report will contain the description of the territory, the relevant statistics, the names of the federal and provincial electoral districts involved, and subsequently the relevant maps.)



## 2. West Labrador

### (a) Factors

The First Bilingual Districts Advisory Board recommended that after the 1971 census returns were made available a succeeding Board should determine whether or not any locality in Labrador met the requirement for the establishment of a bilingual district. The Second Board has examined the statistics and found that two areas qualify. Labrador City Local Improvement District and West Labrador, which is census subdivision D of census division 10, each has an official language minority of more than ten per cent of the total population. A team of members of the Board visited the region to consult with residents, to assess local conditions and the scope of federal services, and to determine whether or not a bilingual district or districts should be recommended, and if so, in which locations. The group of five Board members visited and held consultations in Labrador City, Wabush, and Churchill Falls.

Labrador City is the nerve centre of a recent great upsurge in economic development and activity in West Labrador. The city itself and the neighbouring community of Wabush are in the midst of a boom resulting from rapid growth in the local



iron ore industry and in new mines nearby. Labrador City's airport is a hive of activity, serving as the entry and transit point for workers, personnel and goods arriving in the two local communities or passing through to new mineral sites in the region, such as Mount Wright and Fermont which are located a few miles away in the province of Quebec. The airport also lies on the passenger route to and from Churchill Falls and several other settlements in Labrador and the island of Newfoundland. Most of the labour force and the residents in the area have come from Newfoundland but there are also a number of persons from Quebec. Thus although English is the language used most frequently, a good deal of French is spoken.

Labrador City has bilingual schools, bilingual federal government services, and an obvious bilingual ambience. In 1971 the Local Improvement District had a population of 7,620 persons of whom 860 or 11.3 per cent, were of French mother tongue. Its neighbour, Wabush L.I.D., had a considerably smaller total population and a smaller number and percentage of individuals of French mother tongue. Of its 3,385





residents 170, or five per cent, belonged to the official language minority.

The Board had little difficulty in favouring Labrador City L.I.D. as a bilingual district since it has a minority population in excess of the minimum requirement of ten per cent and it serves as a transit point and entrepot for many French-speaking persons. The work force employed in the nearby Quebec settlements at Mount Wright and Fermont are predominantly French-speaking and some of them and their families live in Labrador City. The creation of a bilingual district would be in keeping with the present bilingual atmosphere of this L.I.D. and also would reinforce the provision of federal services in French, which are necessary since a number of residents and transients apparently are unilingual French-speaking.

Wabush Local Improvement District gives less evidence of being bilingual and has not got a sufficient percentage of the minority to qualify as a bilingual district. However, Wabush and Labrador City are virtually contiguous communities, being joined



together by proximity, mutual concerns, a common airport, and a busy thoroughfare that traverses the few miles between them. It did not seem reasonable to the Board to consider recommending one portion of this settled area as a bilingual district while omitting the other. Nevertheless, if the two Local Improvement Districts were grouped together, the official language minority in the combined area would amount to only 9.4 per cent, which would be less than the minimum required for a bilingual district, although an exception to the rule might be warranted in this case because of the circumstances.

Two other possibilities emerged, however. One was to consider the inclusion of the town of Churchill Falls within a bilingual district, or alternatively to recommend a district for the entire area which is known as West Labrador and which is comprised of census subdivision D in census division 10. West Labrador contains all three settlements of Labrador City, Wabush, and Churchill Falls, and a good deal of unorganized territory as well.



In 1971 Churchill Falls had a population of 2,355 persons, of whom 320 or 13.5 per cent, were of French mother tongue. Although the latter figure exceeded the minimum of ten per cent required for a bilingual district, the aggregate of the minority seemed to be too small to justify such a recommendation. Churchill Falls, moreover, has few, if any, federal services. The site of one of the largest subterranean hydro-electric generating plants in the world, it is a company town. The company has taken pains to provide bilingual facilities, such as schools, libraries, films, and radio reception, for its employees and their families. Most of the personnel is of English mother tongue but some of it, drawn from Quebec, belongs to the other official language group. We were told, however, that it is likely that when the initial phase of construction of the plant is completed in the near future, the number of employees of French mother tongue probably will decline at a more rapid rate than the number of persons of English mother tongue.

If Churchill Falls were combined with Labrador City and Wabush, the number of persons



belonging to the French mother tongue group would be slightly in excess of ten per cent. However, any district created to include these three towns and the unorganized territory connecting them would be rather artificial in nature, peculiar in shape, and difficult to demarcate by conventional boundaries. The alternative was to consider census subdivision D known as West Labrador.

The choice of the entire subdivision offered several distinct advantages. First, it was more extensive and it had a larger percentage of the minority, amounting to 10.7 per cent. The bigger area would increase the number of individuals who might profit from being within a bilingual district and it would include all of the residents of a region which is isolated and sparsely populated, yet uniform in nature and easily identifiable.

Second, because of the continuing rapid economic development in the area, there is a likelihood that additional communities may spring up in the region soon. If their populations followed





the pattern established in ~~Labrador~~ City and Churchill Falls in particular, and to a lesser extent in Wabush, there would be a considerable number of French-speaking residents as well as English-speaking and federal bilingual services might be required before the next scheduled reconsideration of boundaries of districts takes place after the census of 1981.

Third, the predominant economic force in the western portion of the subdivision, the Iron Ore Company of Canada, has adhered to bilingual policies in its employment of manpower and selection of executives, and in its administration and operations. The company has strong links with Quebec. Its head office is in Montreal and it has mines and industrial facilities on both sides of the border between Labrador and Quebec, the most important of which are located in Labrador City, Schefferville, and Sept-Iles. I.O.C.C. also owns and operates the Quebec North Shore and Labrador Railway which connects Schefferville and Sept-Iles by traversing West Labrador. Local spokesmen of the company were strongly in favour of the establishment of a bilingual district in the region but proposed that



it should include not only subdivision D of West Labrador but the adjoining territory in Quebec which contains mineral sites now under development or likely to be developed in the near future. This view is influenced by the company's desire to have mobility in its bilingual labour force and the realization that its employees and their families might move more readily between sites in Quebec and Labrador if there were greater assurance of their obtaining services, including federal services, in their own language in a new location.

Fourth, the residents whom the Board met in Labrador City displayed a marked preference for a bilingual district encompassing the whole of subdivision D West Labrador. At a meeting which the Board's team attended, a gathering of about a dozen and a half residents, who were representative of a wide variety of occupations and interests as well as of both language groups, gave unanimous approval to a resolution proposed by one of their members to the effect that all of the subdivision be recommended as a bilingual district.



Finally, this ~~recommendation~~ was supported very strongly by the local member of the provincial House of Assembly who also attended this meeting. Subsequently, the Newfoundland government endorsed the proposal enthusiastically.

For all the foregoing reasons, a strong majority of the Board recommends the establishment of a bilingual district in West Labrador, comprising census subdivision D of census division 10.

#### PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND

In Prince Edward Island all but two of the census subdivisions which contain at least ten per cent of the official language minority by mother tongue are located within the recommended bilingual district of Egmont.

The two census subdivisions which are not recommended are contained within township 24 in the census division of Queens. The subdivisions are the village of North Rustico, which has a total population of 765 people of whom 90 or 11.8 per cent are of French mother tongue, and the rural, remaining portion



of the township which has an additional total population of 1,360 persons of whom 270 or 19.9 per cent are of French mother tongue. The aggregate population of township 24 is 2,125, of whom 360 or 16.9 per cent belong to the French mother tongue minority.

Although the two subdivisions, either separately or combined, satisfy the minimum requirement of a bilingual district by having an official language minority amounting to at least ten per cent of the total population, the Board decided against recommending the creation of any bilingual district in this area. The Board was of the opinion that even the maximal total size of the minority in the combined subdivisions was too small to warrant a district. The minority in this area also seems to be less active in preserving its cultural identity than are some comparable groups elsewhere. Furthermore, there are few federal government services in this region. Finally, the Board noted that the First Districts Advisory Board also had drawn a negative conclusion in regard to this area.





Bilingual District Recommended in the Province of  
Prince Edward Island

1. Egmont

(a) Factors

The Board had no difficulty in deciding to recommend a bilingual district in this part of Prince Edward Island. The area is the heartland of the Acadian people in the province and it has a strong concentration of the official language minority. There are also a number of federal government services in the region. Finally, the residents of the area who were consulted favoured the establishment of a district, as did the provincial government.

The aspect of the recommendation on which the Board spent most time was the determination of the area to be included within the district. Although most members of the French mother tongue group in this western segment of Prince Edward Island reside within a coherent area composed of townships 1 to 17, which are census subdivisions within the census division of Prince, the minority population is not distributed evenly throughout this portion of Prince County. There are two major concentrations; one in the south in census subdivisions



(townships) 14, 15, 16, and 17, and one in the north in census subdivisions (townships) 1 and 2. In the area between these two large aggregations of French-speaking persons there are 11 census subdivisions which have little or no population of French mother tongue.

Assuming that a bilingual district should be composed of a continuous area, the Board wondered whether it should suggest a district for each of the two sections of concentration of the minority, omitting the intervening census subdivisions, or perhaps propose one district for the sector in which the minority was larger and none for the other, or recommend a single district for the entire area comprising census subdivisions 1 to 17.

The sector in the south, which is known popularly as Evangeline, has a larger minority population than the sector of concentration in the north, which is often referred to as the Tignish area. In 1971, in the Evangeline sector census subdivisions 14, 15, and 16 and the village of Wellington each had a strong concentration of the minority which was far greater than ten per cent. Aggregated, the population of this area was 3,450 persons, of whom 2,155 or 62.5 per cent were of French mother tongue. Although the adjoining census subdivision 17 and the incorporated urban centres within it had a minority



population that was considerably smaller in percentage terms, amounting to 9.9 per cent, the area merits inclusion in the southern sector since it contains Summerside, an important service centre, and an additional French mother tongue population of 1,465 individuals. If township 17 and its incorporated centres are included, the total population of the entire southern sector would be 18,190 persons, of whom 3,620 or 19.9 per cent were of French mother tongue.

At the same time the Tignish area in the north, which was composed of census subdivisions 1 and 2 and the incorporated urban centres within them, had a total population of 4,805 people, of whom 1,860 or 38.7 per cent were of French mother tongue. Thus each of the northern and southern sectors had a minority population well in excess of the ten per cent required for a bilingual district.

One member of the Board had reservations about including the Tignish area within a bilingual district since there had been a considerable decrease in its French mother tongue population in the decade between the censuses in 1961 and 1971. However, it was noted that the decline was no greater than in some census subdivisions in the Evangeline sector.

An alternative possibility was to consider recommending two bilingual districts, one in the north and



the other in the south. But it seemed unwise to the Board to create two districts which would be relatively small and which might be deemed to be ~~unnaturally~~ divisive in an area that was regarded by the minority as one community. Separation, moreover, would leave the Tignish area too isolated. The provincial government informed us also that it was going to establish a number of new regional service centres and that the one intended to serve residents of this area, including the French-speaking population, would be located in O'Leary. Since this village is situated in census subdivision 6 which lies between the two districts contemplated, it would not be included within either bilingual district. Consequently, it might be less appropriate and effective as a centre serving French-speaking residents than it would be if it were located within a federal bilingual district.

These considerations led the Board to favour recommending one district for the entire area which would include the Tignish and Evangeline sectors of concentration and the census subdivisions between them. The district would be continuous, compact, and easily identifiable since it would be composed of census subdivisions 1 to 17 and the incorporated urban centres within them. It also would coincide, except in one small portion in the south-eastern corner, with the federal electoral district of Egmont.





Furthermore, it would have the advantage of encompassing about four-fifths of all the persons of French mother tongue in the province. The region also would have a minority population substantially in excess of the ten per cent required as a minimum for a bilingual district since in 1971 the area had a total population of 32,875, of whom 5,785 persons or 17.6 per cent were of French mother tongue.

The First Bilingual Districts Advisory Board recommended that the identical area be established as a bilingual district. Although no districts have been created, the First Board's report apparently had some effect in this area. The team of members from the present Board who held a consultation in Summerside with a group of residents from the region discovered that at least one federal agency had required its literature which was published locally to be produced in both official languages. A participant at the meeting believed that the area already was a bilingual district. Some others exhibited impatience because a district had not yet been established.

Summerside, which would be included within the proposed district, has a number of federal government offices and a military installation. The town is the principal federal service centre in this part of Prince Edward Island.



The residents from the area whom the Board consulted were in favour of the larger district that has been described. Their opinion was shared by the official association representing the Acadians of Prince Edward Island, la Société Saint-Thomas d'Aquin. The larger district was much preferred also by the provincial government and the local member of Parliament representing the federal electoral district of Egmont.

For all these reasons the Board unanimously recommends that a bilingual district be established in the area designated as Egmont and described hereinafter.

#### NOVA SCOTIA

The only regions in Nova Scotia that fulfil the requirement of a bilingual district by having an official language minority which by mother tongue amounts to at least ten per cent of the total population are located in the census divisions of Antigonish, Inverness, Richmond, and Digby and Yarmouth.



## Bilingual Districts Recommended in the Province of Nova Scotia

### 1. Antigonish-Inverness-Richmond

#### (a) Factors

According to the 1971 census, each of these three counties, which are also census divisions, has a French mother tongue population that is significant. In two of the census divisions and in one census subdivision of the third, the official language minority is sufficiently large that it satisfies the minimum of ten per cent required for a bilingual district.

Richmond has the largest number and percentage of persons of French mother tongue. The total of the minority is 5,155, which amounts to 40.5 per cent of the aggregate population of the census division. Inverness has a French mother tongue population of 3,820 persons who constitute 18.7 per cent of the census division's total population. Antigonish has 1,275 individuals of French mother tongue but they account for less than ten per cent of the total population, the precise figure being 7.6 per cent. However, since most of the minority is concentrated in one census subdivision, there is one locality in Antigonish in which the minority is sizable and exceeds ten per cent. Census



subdivision B of the rural area of Antigonish municipality, which excludes the town of Antigonish but includes Pomquet and Tracadie, has 1,020 persons of French mother tongue who amount to 16.4 per cent of the total population in the subdivision.

In view of the magnitude of the minority in the three counties, the Board had little doubt that it should recommend a bilingual district or perhaps more than one district within the region of Richmond, Inverness, and Antigonish, but the problem was to determine the number of districts and the most suitable boundaries.

In regard to Antigonish, the Board noted that census subdivision B of the municipality of Antigonish had a minority population exceeding ten per cent but the total number of the minority was relatively small and that there are few, if any, federal government offices in Pomquet and Tracadie. The town of Antigonish has more federal services but it is located outside of subdivision B and it has only 150 persons of French mother tongue who constitute 2.7 per cent of the town's population. The Board concluded, therefore, that it should not recommend a bilingual district for Pomquet and Tracadie and that it could not recommend a bilingual district for the census division of Antigonish by itself because it lacked a minority amounting to at least





ten per cent. Nevertheless, the Board kept in mind that it might be possible to include all of the census division of Antigonish, or at least the Pomquet-Tracadie portion, within a more extensive bilingual district.

Considering the entire region, the Board wondered whether there should be two districts, one for each of Inverness and Richmond with Antigonish being attached perhaps to one of them, or whether there should be one district including all three areas, or alternatively one district omitting the Antigonish division.

The chief argument in favour of recommending two districts was that the creation of a separate district for Inverness might ensure that the minority in that area would be better served in its own language by local federal government offices. If there were only one district and section 9(1) of the Official Languages Act were interpreted stringently, it was conceivable that bilingual services might be provided at "principal offices" which might be located more frequently in Richmond than in Inverness since the former has a larger minority population than the latter. Some members of the minority group residing in Inverness were apprehensive of such an eventuality since they believed that their locality had been somewhat neglected generally in the past.



Second, if there were two districts, it would be possible to limit the Inverness district to the area which contained the concentration of persons of French mother tongue, omitting the census subdivisions in Inverness which had a very small minority population. The concentration is located in subdivision A of Inverness municipality, which is comprised of Cheticamp and Margeree and which has 3,445 persons of French mother tongue, amounting to 52.0 per cent of the total population of the subdivision. The rest of Inverness division has only a small number and percentage of persons of French mother tongue, amounting in all to 370 individuals. Thus, if subdivision A were selected as a bilingual district, it would be smaller in extent but much more French in character and appearance. It would be appropriate to designate the district as Cheticamp since Cheticamp is the major settlement in the subdivision and the name by which the region has been known historically. If the minority in this locality received this kind of symbolic recognition, it might be reinforced psychologically.

However, after some reflection the Board concluded that the Cheticamp area contained too few federal services and was too remote and isolated to warrant being recommended separately as a bilingual district.



Another possibility which the Board considered briefly was to link together in one bilingual district the census division of Inverness and either the census division of Antigonish or that part of it containing Pomquet and Tracadie. But the Board gathered from its consultations in Inverness that residents of Cape Breton did not identify themselves with the Antigonish area and that few, if any, of them sought federal services in the latter region.

An alternative was to consider linking the census division of Antigonish or part of it with Richmond, omitting Inverness, but Antigonish and Richmond are less related geographically and seemed to have even less in common than Antigonish and Inverness.

The remaining possibilities were to consider a district composed of Inverness and Richmond only or a district composed of these two census divisions with Antigonish or some portion of it added.

The Board quickly concluded that the combined region of Inverness and Richmond certainly was an appropriate area to be recommended as a bilingual district. It has nearly 9,000 persons of French mother tongue who amount to about 27 per cent of the total population. Some members of the minority are unilingual. It has a reasonable number of federal government offices, some of which have already



provided services in French, but we were told by local residents that there was room for improvement. French radio and television programmes are available. The area is so accustomed to the presence of bilingualism that some persons in both Richmond and Cheticamp, we discovered, were under the impression that a bilingual district had already been created in the region. We did not encounter any individual of any language affiliation who was antagonistic to the proposal of establishing a bilingual district, although there was some indifference. There was also some incredulity that there should be any doubt about recommending as a bilingual district an area like Richmond, which has a minority population amounting to 40.5 per cent.

The question that did give the Board pause was whether or not the census division of Antigonish, or some part of it, should be added to the bilingual district recommended for the combined area of Richmond and Inverness. One Board member was opposed, on the grounds that Antigonish is predominantly English-speaking, the minority of French mother tongue is only 7.6 per cent, it has relatively few federal offices, and it is considered by the residents of Inverness and Richmond to be quite separate from Cape Breton. This member of the Board, however, was prepared to accept the inclusion of census subdivision B, containing Pomquet and Tracadie, within the proposed bilingual district.





When the Board assessed local opinion on the advisability of including Antigonish, it received a unanimously affirmative response. ~~All~~ of those who replied to the question, whether they were of English or French mother tongue or residents of Cape Breton or Antigonish, were in favour of including the entire census division of Antigonish rather than of omitting it or including merely census subdivision B. The only reservation expressed were tangential since they arose from apprehensions about the possible effect of the creation of a bilingual district upon local employment opportunities.

A number of reasons were given for the positive response to the larger district. It would permit the additional 1,275 persons of French mother tongue who live in the census division of Antigonish to benefit from the advantages of being within a bilingual district and it also would strengthen the French presence in the district. The larger area would contain 10,250 individuals of French mother tongue who would amount to 20.5 per cent of the total population. Furthermore, the University of St. Francis Xavier is located in the town of Antigonish and the district and the University would profit from the inclusion of the educational institution. If the entire county of Antigonish were incorporated, the school boards in it would have an added incentive to provide more adequate second language training. Since the vocational high school in Port Hawkesbury already serves Antigonish



as well as Richmond, Inverness, and Guysborough, there is a precedent for considering the combined area as one region. We were told also that it is likely that additional regional facilities will be situated in Port Hawkesbury to serve both sides of the Strait of Canso. Finally, the combined area of Antigonish, Inverness, and Richmond was identical to the bilingual district proposed by the First Bilingual Districts Advisory Board and the latter recommendation had not provoked any public objections.

The Board was able to consult with several elected local representatives of the federal and provincial legislatures. The member of Parliament who represents most of the area contained within the proposed bilingual district was strongly in favour of a district which included the three counties. This proposition was endorsed strongly also by the government of Nova Scotia and the member of the provincial Legislative Assembly who represents Antigonish. The member of the provincial Legislative Assembly who represents the electoral district of Inverness expressed no objections.

In view of all the foregoing factors, a strong majority of the Board concluded that it should recommend the establishment of one bilingual district for the area composed of the three census divisions of Antigonish, Inverness, and Richmond.



(2) Digby-Yarmouth

(a) Factors

Digby and Yarmouth are the two counties which comprise the south western end of the mainland of Nova Scotia. According to the 1971 census each of these two counties, which are also census divisions, has a French mother tongue minority which is large and very much greater than the minimum of ten per cent that is required for a bilingual district. Digby census division has 7,730 persons of French mother tongue who amount to 38.0 per cent of the total population. Yarmouth census division has 7,785 individuals of French mother tongue who account for 31.5 per cent of the total population.

Each of the census divisions of Digby and Yarmouth has within it a census subdivision which has a very strong concentration of persons of French mother tongue. Digby division contains the subdivision of Clare which is the heartland of the Acadian community in western Nova Scotia. Known locally as "the French shore", this area possesses one of the strongest and most vital French minority communities in Canada. It has a French mother tongue population



of 7,155 persons, a number so large that it accounts for 79.7 per cent of the total population of Clare. In Yarmouth division the bulk of French mother tongue persons live in the census subdivision of Argyle, which has 5,970 members of the minority, amounting again to a very large proportion of the total population, 70.1 per cent to be precise.

In view of these statistics and the local situation which a group of Board members assessed by visiting the area and holding consultations, the Board had no doubt that Clare and Argyle were eminently suited to be recommended as a bilingual district or districts. The questions to be resolved were whether the whole of Digby division and the whole of Yarmouth division should be included in any recommendation, and whether there should be two districts or only one.

Insofar as recommending the whole of Yarmouth division was concerned, the Board again had no doubts. Yarmouth census division is composed of the subdivisions of Argyle, the town of Yarmouth, the rural area of Yarmouth, and a small Indian reserve containing only five people. The figures pertaining to the minority in Argyle have been stated previously.





Each of the two remaining subdivisions has a significant number of persons of French mother tongue who in their proportions exceed the minimal requirement of ten per cent. Thus, the incorporated centre of Yarmouth has a French minority of 1,040 individuals who amount to 12.2 per cent of the town's total population while the remaining rural area of Yarmouth has 770 persons of French mother tongue who constitute 10.1 per cent of the total population. The town of Yarmouth, moreover, is the major service centre for the whole county. Argyle, on the contrary, by itself has few federal government services. Hence, in view of these circumstances, it would be almost inconceivable to recommend a bilingual district that consisted of Argyle alone and did not include the entire division of Yarmouth.

Much the same sort of reasoning applied to the Digby division although the statistics were not as supportive. Neither of the two census subdivisions which, in addition to Clare and a small Indian reserve of 45 persons, comprise the Digby division, has an official language minority amounting to ten per cent. The town of Digby has 140 persons of French mother tongue, totalling 5.9 per cent. The unincorporated



rural area of Digby has 430 members of the minority, constituting 4.8 per cent.

However, although there are more federal services in the county outside of Digby than there are in the neighbouring county outside of Yarmouth, Digby is still like Yarmouth, the major service centre for its hinterland. We were told on more than one occasion that many residents of the French shore, including some who are unilingual French-speaking, go to Digby to obtain federal as well as commercial services. Some also go to Yarmouth since the French shore occupies an area situated about midway on the highway between the two towns. As one would expect, the alternative destination which is chosen tends to depend on whichever of the two urban centres is closer to the individual's point of residence on the French shore and the location in either Digby or Yarmouth of the service sought.

However, it was apparent to us that many of the inhabitants of the French shore, particularly in the northern portion, have more significant lines of communication and greater affinity to Digby than to Yarmouth. This relationship is attributable in



part to the fact that the focal point of the Acadians in south western Nova Scotia is in a very real sense le Collège Ste-Anne, which is their unique institution of higher education, and it is located at Church Point which is closer to Digby than to Yarmouth.

Clare and Digby also seem to have a number of traditional bonds and a sense of community. The English-speaking mayor of Digby told us that he considered the whole of the county to be a social unit and that the town would suffer if it were separated in any administrative way from the French shore. He informed us that this sentiment was so strong in Digby that when it had been proposed that le Collège Ste-Anne, which until now has been a unilingual French institution, should be moved to Yarmouth, the predominantly English-speaking town council of Digby had passed a resolution urging that the College be retained at Church Point. The large group of local Acadian leaders whom we consulted at a meeting in Church Point were equally convinced that Digby should be included in any proposed bilingual district.



We learned also from local school officials in Digby that as a result of the first Board's recommendation that Digby be included in a bilingual district the school board had made considerable efforts to increase the amount of instruction in French provided to English-speaking students and to improve its quality. Although the board had not received as much financial support for these attempts as it had hoped might be forthcoming from federal grants administered by provincial authorities, the educational officials wished to continue their efforts and they believed that they might obtain more adequate assistance in the future if Digby were included in a bilingual district than if it were omitted.

In response to a question as to whether or not there had been opposition locally to the first Board's recommendation to include Digby in a bilingual district, we were informed by all who replied that there had been little or no criticism of the proposal. Most persons had either been indifferent to the recommendation or else favourably disposed towards it.





When asked if opinion might have changed and if there might be any objection to inclusion of Digby by the present Board, our informants told us that some concern had been expressed recently about how the provision of bilingual federal services might affect local employment opportunities in the public service, but that such trepidation did not amount to opposition. On balance, we were told, there would be more discussion raised in Digby if the latter were omitted from a bilingual district than if it were included. Finally, our own direct consultations with individuals in the area did not elicit any objections to the inclusion of Digby in a proposed bilingual district. For all of these reasons, the Board concluded that the whole of the Digby census division should be included in any recommended bilingual district.

The remaining question was whether the Board should propose two bilingual districts, one for Digby division and one for Yarmouth division, or only one district containing both. The Board had no difficulty in deciding in favour of the



latter recommendation. The combined area has a very large minority of persons of French mother tongue, both in numbers which total 15,515, and in proportion which amounts to 34.5 per cent. Although the proportion of the minority has decreased slightly from 35.1 per cent in 1961, the absolute number has increased somewhat from 15,302 in 1961.

Perhaps the most important point is that while the core of the minority community which is located in Clare, is strong, well-organized, well-structured, enduring, and flourishing, there are additional groups of the minority, situated for the most part in Argyle, which are weaker and would profit from being consolidated in one district with other members of their language group. We learned that some members of the minority in Argyle have recently become more interested in the preservation of their language and have taken steps to promote its use but no doubt this effort would be strengthened by any step which brought these groups into closer contact with their colleagues in Clare.



The members of the minority whom we met in Argyle were not only strongly in favour of having a bilingual district but wished to have one district that would include both the Yarmouth and Digby divisions. This opinion was expressed with similar force by virtually all of the other individuals and groups whom we consulted in Yarmouth, Church Point, and Digby, whether they were English or French. We were impressed by the unanimity of the view which emerged from all quarters and all sides that Yarmouth and Digby should constitute one bilingual district.

The only reservation that appeared, apart from the concern about the impact of a district upon the employment market, was the concern that if one district were created and section 9(1) of the Official Languages Act were interpreted narrowly, it was conceivable that fewer bilingual services than were satisfactory might be provided if they were confined to "principal offices" located only in either Yarmouth or Digby.



It must be noted that we also heard complaints from citizens that existing federal bilingual services in Yarmouth and Digby were less than adequate. This view was not shared by federal civil servants whom we met since they believed they were fulfilling satisfactorily the requests they received. Although the discrepancy between these contrary opinions would not be explained solely by this factor, it appeared that a number of persons who wished to obtain services in the minority language did not seek them in their own tongue because they believed it would be to their disadvantage.

The other major complaint that was so frequent that it must be recorded had to do with the reception of television and radio programmes in the French language. The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation appears to have made an earnest effort to provide such facilities to the minority in this region, but technological or topographical problems seem to impede success. Perhaps the most unfortunate example is Church Point. In this area, in which the Acadian College is located, the reception of French language television broadcasting is consistently so poor that French-speaking children, who might well profit from the





advantage of watching and hearing programmes presented in well-spoken French, are attracted instead into following English telecasts because of their superior visual quality.

The members of the minority whom we met in this locality, as well as elsewhere frequently, were convinced that the provision of radio and television programmes in the language of the minority is one of the most important, if not the most important, facility the federal government can offer to assist the minority in preserving and fostering its language.

All of the elected representatives in the area whom the Board consulted either agreed with the proposal that the combined divisions of Digby and Yarmouth should be recommended as a bilingual district or else did not voice any objection to the suggestion.

The only concern expressed was the desire that the establishment of a district would not create dissension in regard to opportunities for employment in the federal public service locally. The mayor of Digby, the warden of West Pubnico, and a rather large number of elected and appointed educational officials in various centres, and a minister in the Nova Scotia



government who was the member of the provincial Legislature from Clare were strongly in favour of the creation of the combined district. Among those who did not object to this proposal were another minister of the Nova Scotia government who was the member of the provincial Legislature from Yarmouth, his fellow member of the Legislature from the same dual riding, the member of the provincial Legislative Assembly from Digby, and the federal member of Parliament representing the constituency of South Western Nova. Representatives of the government of Nova Scotia subsequently gave strong approval to the same proposal.

The similarity of these views, which were in conformity with our other findings, influenced the Board greatly. We also were impressed by the fact that the First Bilingual Districts Advisory Board had recommended the identical area as a bilingual district and that the recommendation seemed to have been well received. We concluded that if our Board were to make the same recommendation, it would be confirming a circumstance which was already widely accepted.



We therefore recommend unanimously that a bilingual district be established for the combined census divisions of Digby and Yarmouth.



NEW BRUNSWICK

Bilingual District Recommended in the Province of New Brunswick

1. The entire province

(a) Factors

The basic question which confronted the Board in regard to New Brunswick was whether to recommend the whole of the province as a bilingual district or to consider recommending only those areas within it which had official language minorities that amounted by mother tongue to at least ten per cent.

The gross figures for the province certainly seemed to warrant considering the entire province as a bilingual district. New Brunswick, as it is well known, is the province in Canada which has the largest percentage of persons belonging to an official language minority by mother tongue. It is also the province which has the third largest number of members of an official language minority. According to the 1971 census New Brunswick has 215,730 residents of French mother tongue. Ontario has slightly more than twice as many persons of the same affiliation and Quebec has more than three and a half





times as many individuals of English mother tongue. However, New Brunswick's official language minority amounts to 34.0 per cent of the province's total population. In contrast, the equivalent group in Ontario amounts to merely 6.3 per cent of that province's total population while the English mother tongue group in Quebec constitutes only 13.1 per cent of the respective population. Thus in terms of the magnitude of its percentage, the official language minority in New Brunswick is certainly distinctive and unique.

New Brunswick's French mother tongue population has also been growing in total number recently although it has declined somewhat in percentage. For the past three censuses the figures have been 185,110 or 35.9 per cent in 1951, 210,530 or 35.2 per cent in 1961, and 215,730 or 34.0 per cent in 1971.

Nevertheless, a more detailed examination of these demographic statistics revealed certain problems. The fundamental difficulty is that the minority is not distributed evenly throughout the expanse of the province but is concentrated instead in certain areas. By census divisions, for example, the proportion of the minority in the province varies from a maximum of 94.6 per cent



in Madawaska to a minimum of 2.0 per cent in Carleton. At a more microcosmic level, in the case of some census subdivisions, for instance, the variation is as extreme as from 100 per cent to 0.0 per cent.

While instances of the latter sort are rare, there are a number of census divisions in which the minority amounts to substantially less than the ten per cent required for a bilingual district and others in which the minority is so large that it exceeds 80 per cent. Thus, as the accompanying table indicates, of the 15 census divisions in New Brunswick, which are identical to the province's counties, six have populations which contain five per cent or less than five per cent of the official language minority and three have populations which are composed of more than 80 per cent of the minority. Most of the census subdivisions within these nine divisions reflect the same sort of imbalance.



Table Number 1

Percentage Distribution of the Population by  
Mother Tongue for Census Divisions in New Brunswick, 1971

<u>Division</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>
Albert	97.0	2.4
Carleton	97.2	2.0
Charlotte	94.9	4.4
Gloucester	16.9	82.8
Kent	14.6	81.4
Kings	96.5	2.5
Madawaska	5.1	94.6
Northumberland	72.0	25.8
Queens	89.8	8.6
Restigouche	39.7	59.8
St. John	91.0	7.6
Sunbury	93.3	5.0
Victoria	58.2	38.9
Westmorland	58.8	40.3
York	92.6	4.9



Studying the table brought home to the Board the realization that more than half of the census divisions, or counties, in New Brunswick tended to be in fact much more unilingual than bilingual in their mother tongue composition. Accordingly, we wondered what the need would be for bilingual services in these locations, particularly in those counties which have as little or less than five per cent of the minority.

We noted that the six divisions which had five per cent or less than five per cent of the minority, namely Albert, Carleton, Charlotte, Kings, Sunbury, and York, were overwhelmingly English-speaking in that each had populations of more than 92 per cent of English mother tongue, and that they were all located in the southwestern sector of the province. We noted also that the other two divisions which had more than five per cent but still less than ten per cent of the minority, namely Queens and St. John, were almost as overwhelmingly English-speaking in that the English mother tongue population exceeded 90 per cent in one of them and amounted to 89.8 per cent in the other. Finally, we observed that if the two divisions of Queens and St. John were grouped with the six preceding divisions of Albert, Carleton,





Charlotte, Kings, Sunbury, and York, there would be one large continuous sector of south-western New Brunswick which would be preponderantly English-speaking and without any census division containing at least ten per cent of persons of French mother tongue.

Because of this configuration of the population, it is common to think of New Brunswick as a province which in terms of language is divided into two sectors demarcated by a diagonal line running approximately from Moncton in the south east to Edmunston in the north west. The south-western sector, which corresponds rather closely to the area composed of the eight counties mentioned previously, is assumed to be entirely English-speaking and the remaining portion, the north-eastern sector, is thought of as predominantly French-speaking or bilingual.

If this assumption were accurate in every respect and if there were no complications, it might be easy to solve the problem of recommending bilingual districts for New Brunswick. One could omit recommending districts in the south west and propose districts in the north east where the minority exceeded ten per cent.

However, for several reasons it is not possible to propose such a simple solution. For one



thing, it would be patently unfair in a province which is the prime example of bilingualism to encourage a situation in which one portion would be unilingual English in its federal services while the other portion of the province would be bilingual rather than unilingual French.

Second, the diagonal line that supposedly divides the province into two neat language zones is by no means an accurate boundary between the two language groups. Three of the seven census divisions in the northeastern sector, for example, namely Northumberland, Victoria, and Westmorland, have an English mother tongue majority rather than a French mother tongue majority, although the latter group is sizable, of course, varying from 25.8 per cent to 38.9 and 40.3 per cent respectively. Furthermore, within three of the remaining four northeastern divisions which have huge percentages of persons of French mother tongue there are a number of urban centres and census subdivisions, the largest of which are Bathurst, Campbellton, Dalhousie, and Edmunston, that have an aggregate of thousands of individuals of English mother tongue. Although the comparable situation in the southwestern sector is not so striking, there are also some pockets of French mother tongue persons in this area,



most noticeably in St. John and Fredericton.

Third, it would be possible to recommend as a bilingual district or districts those census divisions which have either a French or English mother tongue minority of at least ten per cent. By this criterion the following counties would qualify: Gloucester, Kent, Northumberland, Restigouche, Victoria, and Westmorland. These six divisions would form a continuous bloc in the north east of the province.

But such an arrangement would have serious disadvantages. In addition to being subject to the objection already noted, namely that it would be invidious to select as a bilingual district only a portion of a province which is as bilingual as New Brunswick, it would mean, for instance, that Fredericton, the capital of a province which had passed its own official languages act to provide provincial bilingual services would be excluded from a federal bilingual district whose purpose is to ensure the provision of similar federal services. The Board thought that such a contrast would be incongruous, to say the least. The confinement of bilingual districts to the north east would mean also that St. John, the principal industrial and commercial city in the province,



would likewise be excluded from a federal bilingual district. Obviously, the omission of Fredericton and St. John from a bilingual district could be a handicap to unilingual French-speaking residents from other parts of the province who needed to travel to either of these large centres to transact business with the federal government or with private companies.

There was also the problem that if all of the south-western sector of the province were omitted from a bilingual district because it did not have the minimal requirement of a minority of at least ten per cent, there would be a large segment of New Brunswick which would not be obliged by section 9(1) of the Official Languages Act to provide bilingual services at such strategic and very visible places as customs and immigration ports of entry to Canada located in this area. The same deficiency would apply, of course, to other federal facilities in this extensive region.

Furthermore, an additional question, which was familiar to us, emerged as we examined the possibility of recommending the six north-eastern divisions as a bilingual district or districts. We wondered how the phrase "principal offices" in section 9(1) of the Official





Languages Act would be interpreted. If it were interpreted, generously, the recommendation of ~~only~~ one district for the combined six divisions might still result in an adequate supply of bilingual services. If on the other hand it were to be interpreted parsimoniously, rather limited bilingual services might be offered. If so, we might be well advised to recommend six districts in order to increase the number of principal offices and presumably the extent of bilingual services.

The dilemma of recommending more or fewer districts was one which we had encountered elsewhere but another troublesome factor appeared in regard to recommending districts in north-eastern New Brunswick. The difficulty arose from the fact that persons belonging to the official language which was in the minority within the province as a whole were so numerous and concentrated in at least three census divisions in the north east that a great many localities in these divisions had populations that were one hundred per cent or nearly one hundred per cent of French mother tongue. Such places were obviously unilingual rather than bilingual. Yet, if they were included within a bilingual district, they might well be required to furnish bilingual federal services.



While the bilingual capacity might be of some use occasionally to a visitor or a passer-by, it was clear to the Board that it would have little utility for local residents and that, indeed, it might be in the long run a disservice to them since it could encourage the process of assimilation to the majority language in the province. In these circumstances the Board could not see that the creation of a bilingual district would fulfil the purpose intended for bilingual districts, namely to serve the minority in its own language. On the contrary, in such instances a bilingual district might well defeat its original purpose and be a detriment to the minority.

The Board then considered the possibility of proposing that unilingual services only should be provided in some localities within certain bilingual districts, or to put the same notion in the opposite fashion, that bilingual services should be offered in only some places within certain bilingual districts. However, the Board discarded this sort of idea because, whichever way it was expressed, the conception was bound to be confusing and somewhat self-contradictory.

Another possibility that was suggested to the Board was that it should recommend the relocation and dispersal of federal principal offices to places in



New Brunswick which had such large proportions of both English and French mother tongue groups that they could constitute or be part of obvious bilingual districts. Thus, for instance, certain federal principal offices might be moved from Fredericton and St. John, which do not have the minimal minority requirement for a bilingual district, and established in Moncton or other cities like Bathurst, Edmundston, or Campbellton, or smaller centres which do have at least the ten per cent needed. However, it was evident to the Board that while this proposal might solve some problems, it was also likely to create others.

A somewhat similar alternative that was presented to the Board was the suggestion that we might consider recommending as bilingual districts appropriate municipalities rather than larger census divisions since the former would not be subject to some of the problems which affected the latter in the manner previously noted.

A variation on this proposal was a plan which envisaged recommending as a bilingual district or districts a number of urban centres that had at least ten per cent of the minority and that might be designated by their place names but that would not have described boundaries.



While they would serve their own populations under section 9(1) of the Act, they also would ~~serve~~ residents from their hinterlands under section 9(2) of the Act since they would be, in effect, general service centres to which people from the entire area would come to obtain federal government facilities as well as to engage in their <sup>habitual</sup> ~~usual~~ commercial and business transactions.

This sort of arrangement would have a number of advantages. It would avoid the difficulty implicit in recommending extensive census divisions which contained many unilingual pockets or islands. It would also eliminate the problem of having categorical boundary lines demarcating areas served by districts. In addition, it would create districts which conformed to and accommodated the patterns of mobility adopted by the residents themselves and which were therefore natural and habitual to them.

By allowing for mobility the plan would recognize the modern sociological phenomenon that because of the ease of contemporary transportation and communications individuals do not remain fixed in their own residential areas but travel frequently, visiting in particular their local entrepôt. The arrangement would possess flexibility since both the urban centre and its hinterland, having





no described boundaries, would be free to expand or contract in accordance with its own internal dynamics and the preferences of its residents. Studies have shown, for instance, that some members of French-speaking minorities are prepared to travel some distance to a municipality in which they can find services in their own language. Finally, the plan might assist the minority to retain its language since members of the minority from rural areas would be brought into contact with members of the minority in urban centres and data from Statistics Canada indicate that the strongest association of the language of the home to mother tongue is found in rural areas rather than in urban centres.

Despite these advantages, the Board could not see its way clear to adopt either of the latter two proposals. The suggestion that either municipalities or urban centres with hinterlands might be recommended as bilingual districts seemed to be subject to several objections which applied to both cases.

In each instance, for example, it would still be necessary under the Official Languages Act to establish some boundaries for every location that was to be designated as a bilingual district. There also seems to have been recently in many provinces a great deal of



readjusting and rearranging of municipalities and urban centres and consequently a considerable amount of revision of municipal boundaries. For this reason alone it was felt that many citizens might be confused if municipal boundaries were used to describe bilingual districts. It is also probably true that even in periods when urban centres are not being altered as abundantly as they have been lately, bilingual districts conforming to counties would be more readily identified by the general public, at least in eastern Canada where counties exist, than would be districts which were designated by the names of local urban centres.

It was also noted that municipalities are the creatures of provinces and subordinate to them while census divisions and subdivisions are established by Statistics Canada, which is an agency of the federal government. Consequently, if municipalities were designated as bilingual districts, the federal government might find on occasion that it had less control over their extent and nature than it would have if census divisions and subdivisions were used. It is true, of course, that counties, and for that matter townships, are also subordinate to provinces, but the Board has made use of the terms county and township only for descriptive convenience. While the Official



Languages Act permits the Board to define bilingual districts by reference to the boundaries of several different kinds of entities including local governments, the criteria on which the Board has relied throughout its work have been census divisions and subdivisions.

We were informed also that although the selection of municipalities as bilingual districts might be possible in New Brunswick, it would be difficult to apply the same concept throughout the country because the definition of a municipality varies from province to province. In the prairies, for example, there are apparently six different kinds of municipalities. To choose municipalities, therefore, as the loci of bilingual districts in New Brunswick would be to select criteria that would not be uniform throughout the country.

The most telling criticism of the proposal to use municipalities or urban centres as bilingual districts was the objection that has been discussed previously in regard to recommending bilingual districts in only north-eastern New Brunswick. Such a solution would mean that large areas of the province in which it was important to have bilingual services would be omitted from any bilingual district. If municipalities were chosen, the



bilingual districts recommended would be confined to certain localities in north-eastern New Brunswick alone since these areas would be the only places that would have the required minimum of ten per cent of the minority. Excluded from any bilingual district would be the cities of Fredericton and St. John and virtually all of the other urban centres in the south-western sector of New Brunswick except a handful of five towns, the largest of which would have 3,000 residents.

For all of these reasons we were convinced that it would not be advisable to attempt to use municipalities or urban centres as the basis for delineating bilingual districts.

Before arriving at final conclusions we sought counsel in various quarters. The present Board decided that it did not need to visit extensively and hold consultations throughout the province since the first Board had held meetings and discussions in New Brunswick as recently as four year ago and conditions did not appear to have changed much since that time. We were also assured by one of our members that the public in New Brunswick had had ample opportunity to discuss the principle of bilingualism when the government of





New Brunswick had presented in 1968 its white paper proposing to introduce a bill making English and French the official languages of the province and when subsequently legislation on that subject was debated in the legislature and adopted in 1969.

We did consult the government of New Brunswick and while we were in Fredericton we took the opportunity to call on municipal officials who were available. During the same visit to the capital, we also met, at his request, a trade union official from St. John who wished to present to the Board a memorandum concerning a case involving bilingualism in the federal public service. Later, in another context, one of our members had a brief meeting with the mayor of St. John.

In conformity with the Board's decision to seek advice from all those members of Parliament whose constituencies might be included in a proposed bilingual district, we invited all the members of Parliament from New Brunswick to meet with the Board. We were pleased that they all accepted, and in due course we met separately with five Liberal members of Parliament and one Liberal senator and with five Progressive Conservative members of Parliament from the province. We had extensive,



searching, and profitable discussions with the parliamentarians. The consultations ~~were~~ not be described in detail here because the questions that were raised and the discussions that ensued were almost identical to the analysis that has been presented in the foregoing portion of this review. However, the tenour of the discussions and the conclusions that were arrived at should be reported.

Initially, the parliamentarians were divided in their opinions about the wisdom of recommending that the entire province should be one bilingual district. The differences of opinion did not correspond to distinctions in the members' partisan affiliations or mother tongue origins. Several members were very strongly in favour of the whole province being declared a bilingual district. At least one was vigorously opposed. A number had reservations of varying degree. Some felt that the inclusion of all of New Brunswick in a bilingual district would help to unite the province while others believed that such a recommendation would divide the province.

Much the same sort of disagreement and apprehension were expressed when it ~~was~~ proposed that a diagonal line drawn from Moncton to Edmunston, as previously



described, might be recognized as a language frontier between the predominantly English-speaking and French-speaking areas of New Brunswick. One member of Parliament favoured adopting such a boundary because in his opinion it confirmed a social reality. However, several of his colleagues from both parties were appalled by the prospect since they believed it would be destructive inasmuch as it would reinforce existing divisions in the province and encourage the growth of ghettos. One member protested that it would freeze the current unfair situation in which the south west was unilingual English-speaking and the north east was bilingual. There was also a good deal of concern that such an arrangement would create pockets of the minority within pockets of the majority.

Several members were disturbed also by the prospect in general of setting boundary lines of any kind since they believed that frontiers tended by their nature to be divisive. The parliamentarians considered the possibility of selecting certain municipalities or urban centres with hinterland areas as bilingual districts but rejected this proposal for the reasons which have been described previously. In this connection one participant raised the possibility of transferring federal regional offices from Fredericton and St. John, which were more



unilingual, to locations such as Moncton which were more bilingual. We noted that section 15(3) of the Official Languages Act permitted the Board to recommend administrative changes in federal services under certain circumstances, and that this permission might be construed to included the proposal of relocation of offices.

At least one parliamentarian expressed the view that the Official Languages Act ought to be amended to remedy a number of the problems which we had been discussing, for example, the difficulty of drawing boundaries and confining bilingual districts to certain areas. Several participants wondered if it might not be possible to accomplish a good deal more by issuing administrative regulations than by having the Board recommend specific bilingual districts. New Brunswick, for instance, might be declared a bilingual district in principle but exceptions might be implemented by regulation.

This suggestion led a number of the parliamentarians to emphasize what they considered to be the most important aspect of any recommendation in regard to bilingualism, namely, that common sense should be used in providing federal bilingual services and that public servants should





take care to proceed slowly in achieving <sup>their</sup> ~~this~~ objective without offending the local population. This admonition was repeated in regard to the way in which the phrase "principal offices" should be interpreted and the way in which bilingual criteria should be applied in filling local federal government positions. We were told that "principal offices" should be defined as federal offices in larger centres. We were also given several recent examples in which animosity and unpleasantness for all concerned had been created by what the members of Parliament believed were inappropriate applications of bilingual criteria by the public service in staffing some local positions.

The greatest apprehensions expressed by the parliamentarians concerned the filling of federal jobs in their localities and the way in which the bureaucracy used its discretionary power in making appointments. We were informed that the divisive element in New Brunswick is not bilingualism itself but the way in which it is implemented on occasion by the public service.

Having discussed the problems intensively and at considerable length, the two groups of members gave us their conclusions. Despite whatever reservations they



had expressed as individuals, each group finally favoured a recommendation designating the entire province of New Brunswick as a bilingual district. One group attached to this advice the proviso that it would not be in favour of this recommendation if it were to result in the requirement of bilingual services in the smaller federal offices located in the predominantly English-speaking areas of the province.

We received the same opinion that the whole of New Brunswick should be a bilingual district from the other public officials whom we consulted. Both the deputy mayor of Fredericton, who was also the secretary of the city's school board, and the city administrator expressed the view that Fredericton should be included within a federal bilingual district and that the entire province should be recommended as a bilingual district. One of them remarked that it would be inconceivable if the capital of New Brunswick were not included in a federal bilingual district when the province has an official languages statute providing for bilingualism. It was noted that the French mother tongue population of Fredericton had increased greatly during the decade from 1961 to 1971, growing from 749 to 1,445 persons, that is from 3.8 to 6.0 per cent. The city now has elementary



and secondary schools in the French language, which are undoubtedly essential if French-speaking individuals who are parents are to be attracted to employment in the provincial civil service in the capital.

We were informed that bilingual services have been increased in recent years in the city of St. John also. The mayor of St. John expressed his approval of the provision of bilingual services, regarding them as an asset to his city, and he was in favour of the entire province being recommended as a bilingual district.

The government of New Brunswick also supported the recommendation of the whole province as a bilingual district. Although the government was well aware of the problems implicit in such a proposal and concerned by them, its spokesman said that the government had not altered the opinion it had expressed originally and that it still felt that it was preferable to recommend the entire province rather than portions of it.

The provincial government was disturbed by the length of time that had elapsed without the federal government yet having proclaimed a bilingual district in New Brunswick since it believed that the delay affected adversely the implementation of bilingualism in provincial



services. We were also informed that if our Board did not recommend the whole of the province of Quebec as a federal bilingual district, a number of residents of New Brunswick would find it difficult to accept a recommendation that all of their province be declared a federal bilingual district. It was suggested in reply that the two cases might be somewhat different for a number of reasons and that the public might well accept the view that the issue was less a question of exchange than a matter involving equity.

The spokesman for the government believed that it was essential to make it very clear to the public that the declaration of a federal bilingual district for the province did not mean that every federal civil service position had to be filled by an individual who was bilingual or that every federal civil servant had to be bilingual. English-speaking residents needed to be reassured that there were still opportunities for their employment in the federal public service. He expressed the same wish as that enunciated by several members of Parliament, namely that federal administrators would exercise great common sense and good judgement in utilizing bilingual criteria in the employment and promotion





of civil servants, particularly in unilingual English-speaking areas of the province, in order to avoid arousing unnecessary complaints and dissension. Finally, he noted that the provincial government had diminished such difficulties by refraining from categorizing positions as bilingual or non-bilingual and by attempting instead to provide bilingual services when the need for them occurred.

Reviewing the evidence and the advice it had received, the Board believed that the following points were very salient. The province of New Brunswick is unique for several reasons. First, it has the largest percentage of an official language mother-tongue minority of any province in Canada. Second, the proportionate figure for the minority is very substantial, accounting for 34.0 per cent of the total population. This figure is considerably more than twice as great as the percentage of the official language minority in any other province in Canada. In number it amounts to the significant figure of 215,730 individuals. Third, New Brunswick is unique because it is the only province which has an official languages act establishing English and French as the official languages of the province. This statute was passed unanimously by the legislature



of the province in 1969. It has been in effect for five years and it has been endorsed and supported by governments representing each of the two major political parties in New Brunswick. The Board believes that it would be incongruous for the federal government to do less in regard to bilingualism in New Brunswick than the provincial government has done.

Additional considerations also influenced the Board. We could not see that any of the alternative suggestions offered for creating bilingual districts within New Brunswick was, on balance, as satisfactory as the recommendation of the entire province as a bilingual district. The fundamental weaknesses in the other proposals were that they would omit a substantial number of the minority from inclusion in a bilingual district and that they would likewise exclude from a bilingual district the provincial capital of Fredericton and the principal industrial and commercial city of St. John. Each of these cities serves a large number of members of the minority who live in other parts of the province as well as those who reside in St. John and Fredericton.

The Board was also greatly influenced by the opinions it received from the elected representatives of the public whom it consulted. Some had no hesitation to



recommend that the entire province should be a bilingual district, but even those who initially had some reservations gave the same advice as their final conclusion. This opinion was tendered by the provincial government, by the two party caucuses representing all of the federal members of Parliament from New Brunswick, and by the municipal officials whom we met.

Finally, we noted that the First Bilingual Districts Advisory Board had recommended that the whole province should be included in one bilingual district and it appeared that this proposal had not aroused widespread opposition in the province.

After extensive discussion a majority of the Board decided that for the foregoing reasons a bilingual district should be recommended for the entire province of New Brunswick.









Members  
Bilingual Districts Advisory Board

1821-8

Chairman

June 5, 1974

Corrections in material in Draft 2 on New Brunswick

- P. 50 - line 14 - "western" should be "eastern"
- P. 53 - line 16 - "dificiency" should be "deficiency"
- P. 54 - line 10 - "dilemma" should be "dilemma"
- P. 56 - line 1 - delete "a"
- P. 57 - line 7 - "usual" should be "habitual"
- P. 58 - line 11 - delete "s" in "indicates"
- P. 59 - line 16 - omit the comma
- P. 63 - last line - insert comma after "Edmunston"
- P. 66 - line 1 - "this" should be "their"
- P. 68 - paragraph 2 - re the opinion of the mayor of St. John.  
I have not been able to verify this opinion  
from our records and I have relied on my  
memory. Would M. Savore, in particular,  
please inform us, if he can, of the accuracy  
of this statement?
- P. 70 - line 19 - "numbers and" should be "number it"



Continuation of Draft No. 2 of the Final Report  
of the Bilingual Districts Advisory Board

Second Part - Descriptions of Recommended Districts

Queries and Suggestions for  
Editorial Revision of Draft

As you requested I have read through the 31 pages of text which the girls typed from your long hand manuscript and I must say I have been most favourably impressed. I think you have done an excellent job. Although I am obviously not a disinterested bystander or impartial observer, I found your descriptions most interesting to read. Perhaps because semi-consciously I did not expect this to be the case - not because I did not think you would do a good writing job but rather simply by the nature of the subject which I felt might be rather dull and pedestrian. I think you have succeeded admirably, so far as you have gone, not only in describing the situation and size or significance of the minority language populations but also in giving an analysis or resume of the considerations which led the Board to arrive at its recommendations. It seems to me that these descriptions will go a long way to serve the purpose that the Secretary of State and his officials had in mind when they urged the Board to present its reasons and evidence in considerable



detail in order to give the government the benefit of the Board's thinking and possible alternatives.

I think you have succeeded in being both clear and precise as well as reasonably detailed in your description and analysis. Sometimes, as I read along, I found myself making a note that such and such data might be included and discovering that you had already written it into the following paragraph or page. I know this is demanding and painstaking work but it seems to be well worth doing. In effect you are providing thumb-nail sketches of the situation and characteristics of the French language minority groups or communities outside Quebec from coast to coast. Also it gives some idea of their decline or progress or at least the changes that have taken place and some indication of future prospects for survival as well as suggestions about alternative ways in which government policy and programmes may assist their survival and development.

I don't have the same feeling about the second part as I did about some sections of the second draft of the first part. The writing and content does not seem to me to be repetitious or tedious or concerned with irrelevant or unnecessary detail. As I said on the telephone yesterday, I think you will have a different kind of audience



or audiences for this section. This kind of information and analysis, district by district or region by region, should answer some of the questions we have been getting here over the past year or two from officials in various departments of government as well as the central agencies which are concerned with the interpretation and implementation of government language policy. Federal officials in the Treasury Board, Secretary of State Department, Public Service Commission, and the Privy Council Office, as well as in many departments and crown corporations which have offices and staff scattered across the country and provide services to the public should be an interested and attentive audience. Then, by provinces or by areas or regions within provinces, you will have ministers and members of Parliament as well as provincial officials and members of legislatures to say nothing of provincial minority ethnic group organisations and local officials and interest groups in the districts concerned. Then there is always the contribution to public understanding or at least informed opinion leaders as well as to teaching and research at universities and colleges. If the proposed supplementary volume with more extensive and detailed statistical data is eventually produced it will provide further information and analysis about population distributions and trends.





In general I like the form of organization you have adopted both overall and internally for each province and district or region. I think you have used the statistical material very well and I did not find it to be excessive. On the contrary I think you might sometimes include figures which would show changes which have occurred over the ten-year period or make comparisons within and between districts as you have already done occasionally. Another general observation or suggestion is that you might include more descriptive words or phrases which would help locate the districts geographically for Canadian readers in other parts of the country or even non-Canadian readers, rather than rely principally on county names or census divisions and subdivisions. For example you might refer to the Port au Port Peninsula as being on the West coast of Newfoundland located at a distance of fifty miles(?) from Stephenville, the nearest large town and service centre. Or refer to the two districts in Nova Scotia as being at the extreme or opposite ends of the province, or one lying at the northeastern end on Cape Breton Island and adjacent areas in the mainland and the other at the southwestern end or tip of the province. Similarly if you could refer to the Strait of Canso or Northumberland Strait or the Evangeline area as being on Egmont Bay in the southwestern corner of the island etc.



I think the references to what the first Board did are useful and relevant and indeed I would carry that somewhat further. On page 4, the last paragraph of the Introduction, I would be inclined to include a couple of sentences mentioning the report containing the recommendations of the first Bilingual Districts Advisory Board submitted to the government in March 1971 and say that you intend to indicate the changes in name, boundaries, size, etc. for recommendations being made by the present Board from the recommendations submitted by the first Board. But also point out that the first Board listed for every province except Quebec and New Brunswick possible districts which they recommended for consideration by a subsequent Board after the 1971 census. I think you should say that the Board examined all these recommendations for consideration and found that it was possible to adopt a couple for recommendation as districts but that the others had to be discarded since they did not meet the minimum criterion.

Going over the names of districts it suddenly occurred to me that unless people read the detailed descriptions there might be some confusion particularly in Saskatchewan between the district of Battleford and the town of Battleford or the district of Prince Albert and the city of Prince Albert. I think this is one of the reasons why the first Board referred to the bilingual



district recommended as the region of Prince Albert.

I have not checked but in Manitoba is that simply Lawrence or St-Lawrence-Ste Rose? The first Board simply referred to the district as Ste Rose. In the text describing each of the districts I think it would be important to point out where the present Board has combined two or more districts recommended by the first Board to form one large district, otherwise there will be confusion in making comparisons. For example in Ontario, Cornwall-Hawkesbury combined four or five previously recommended separate districts. Laurentian combined about four districts and extended the area to include Algoma and part of Thunder Bay which were proposed for consideration by the first Board. In the case of Welland, Port Colborne name was dropped and in the case of Windsor-Tilbury the boundary was changed and town of Chatham specifically excluded. Similarly, St. Boniface-Rouge-Seine in Manitoba combined what were previously recommended as three separate districts so that in effect the recommendations in Manitoba are the same as those of the first Board. Again in Saskatchewan the districts of Gravelbourg and Willow Bunch have been combined to form one district. In Alberta aside from dropping one district there was a change of name in the case of the other two and I believe also of boundaries.



Continuation of Editing Notes for Draft #2 of the  
Final Report of the Board - Second Part

Descriptions of Recommended Districts

The following are queries or suggestions which occurred to me and I noted them in the margin as I read over your draft text. These notes are very informal and in interest of getting them off to you, I have not taken the time to edit or revise them so they may not be as clear and precise as they should be. I have asked Maurice Simoneau if he would go through the text and check all the statistics, references to census divisions and subdivisions and geographical descriptions to make sure that they are accurate. I will also ask Don Cartwright when he comes back on Monday if he would read through the text in a similar fashion and send you his observations and any corrections he or Maurice may find in your use of statistical and other information. It is my impression that you have been very careful and precise and that you have not made any errors or at least those I have noticed. My main reservation or query in this respect concerns Port au Port which has always been something of a mystery to me since we got the 1971 figures.





Bilingual Districts Recommended in the Province of  
Newfoundland

1. Port au Port

In the first paragraph you might locate the Peninsula as being ~~an~~ in the West Coast of Newfoundland, which I believe was formerly known as the French Coast and also situate <sup>it</sup> /in relation to Stevenville, the nearest large town and service centre. Possibly giving figures for the total population of Stevenville and the proportion and number of those of French mother tongue, or French-speaking, as well as a reference to federal services or agencies located in the town by way of illustrating a problem that is fairly common in several parts of the country so far as bilingual districts and the provision of federal services are concerned.

Your second paragraph containing the statistical information is clear but what bothers me is the interpretation. In fact this has been a query in my mind for months which has not been satisfactorily answered. This is one of the very few if not the only district recommended by the previous Board or suggested for consideration after



1971 in which there was an increase in the proportion of the French mother tongue population. And I can't figure out why, because I am sure assimilation must have been going on in the area as well as emmigration. In fact if you compare the mother tongue figures for the area in 1971 with the figures for the language-of-the-home, you will find, I believe, although I haven't checked this, that the assimilation rate is fairly high and that those claiming to speak French most often at home are around half of those claiming French as a mother tongue. Don and Maurice can comment more authoritatively on this than I can because they have given more detailed study to the question but I believe that there was a decline in the total population for the comparable areas and an even larger decrease in the number of English mother tongue persons although the contrary occurred in division no. 4 as a whole. There was over a 4,000 increase in the total population and a 4,500 increase in English mother tongue population but a decrease of a little over 300 on the basis of a 1,500 French mother tongue population in 1971. Therefore, for the division as a whole, the proportion of English mother tongue population went from 93.1 to 95.1 and the percentage of French mother tongue population dropped from 6.5 to 4.4. I don't think in all seriousness that



an increase of 46 persons in the French mother tongue population over a ten-year period is very significant. In fact, I suspect that this is less than a normal or the average population increase one would expect. There may also be errors in enumeration or in the way in which people answered the mother tongue question in the last census perhaps as a result of the stimulation of outside officials visiting the area. I don't think the increase in the percentage of the French mother tongue population really is very significant or much of a portent for the future because I suspect that the apparent increase results from a greater degree of migration out of the area on the part of English-speaking population. Thus the description may possibly be misleading concerning the strengths and viability of the community, that is the French-speaking community, particularly when you take into consideration the fact that it is located in a census division with over 95% English mother tongue. It is my impression from the visits we made for the first Board three years ago that the reawakening and development on the part of the French language community there was to a large extent a result of the prodding or stimulus and assistance provided by government specially from the Citizenship Office of the Secretary of State Department located in St. John who did a great deal to encourage and help the people in the Port au Port



area. This is certainly an indication that at least on a short-term basis, government programs can have the effect of revitalizing and strenghtening minority language or ethnic communities. But the future prospects for survival on a longer term basis are or maybe another question. Incidentally, this would be a good area in which to carry out some evaluative research particularly since it is limited, confined and easy to study.

## II - Labrador

Page 9, second paragraph, contains statistical data. I think you might refer to the fact that the French mother tongue percentage reported in 1961 for a comparable area which then was listed as unorganized and of course did not include Churchill Falls, the other two towns were not at such a developed stade if established, but the percentage was 9.6 so the first Board felt it could not recommend the district because it did not reach 10%. While the population as a whole has increased the French mother tongue percentage has not gone up nearly as much as I, for one, expected over the ten-year period and I suspect quite strongly that in 1981 you will find that the





mother tongue percentage has fallen below 10. It would also be interesting to look at the language-of-home numbers and percentage as reported in 1971.

Page 10

My recollection is that some of the French-speaking families within the Labrador City at the present time were likely to move to Mount Wright across the Boarder once the mines and adjacent towns got established there. In other words, they were living in Labrador City for the time being and may very well move back to Quebec when the opportunity presents itself.

Page 11

The qualifying clause in the last sentence - I personally don't disagree with this but I put a question mark in the margin with the note c.f. Quebec. How is that for an enigmatic comment?

I think the description and discussion about West Labrador in this section, pages 9 to 16, is interesting and very well done. Really the only point in which I had a serious query in the form of a question mark was on page 14 opposite the sentence about a considerable number of French-speaking residents in the



future if the same pattern was followed as established in Labrador City and Churchill Falls. It seems to me that the present French-speaking population in Churchill Falls and in Wabush is not very significant and is likely to be less so in the future although this does not necessarily undercut the argument of the Iron Ore Company of Canada for having the whole economic region on both sides of the provincial boarder designated as a bilingual district. One of the things that impressed me, and again that I didn't expect, was the impact or influence of provincial boundaries on language population settlement and distribution. The Newfoundland Government Employment Policies have had a strong impact in my view on the development of West Labrador as a predominantly or overwhelmingly English-speaking area. Unless there are some changes, this is likely to continue in the future whereas I suspect that on the other side of the provincial boundary, the development will be overwhelmingly on the French-speaking side.

I would be willing to make a prediction, or at least a small bet, which I may not be around to collect in any case, on the basis of the statistical data we now possess, that both the Port au Port district and the West Labrador district will show a French mother tongue population of less than



ten percent in the 1981 census unless of course Quebec succeeds in taking over Labrador and incorporating it as part of the province or state of Quebec.

#### Prince Edward Island

Pages 16 and 17 presenting the statistical material, I think it would be useful to include the change in the numbers and proportions of the French mother tongue population from 1961 to 71. Incidentally I think Egmont as a whole and the Evangeline area in particular could be a good place for study or research about change.

In the second paragraph of page 17, it would be worth mentioning that the Board also looked at the Souris in King's County, south shore, east of Charlottetown area as suggested, I believe, by Le Conseil de la Vie française en Amérique and discovered that nothing could be done in this formerly Acadian or French-speaking area because the French mother tongue population is now only 4.7% or 65 people.

#### Egmont

Page 20. I know that technically in census terms you are right, but it seems to me the reference to



"incorporated urban centres" in the second paragraph is misleading because the term urban centre in the popular mind has a connotation of city and these places are simply small towns or villages.

Page 21. For the benefit of federal or provincial government officials thinking of establishing bilingual district offices in O'Leary, it might be worth pointing out that in 1971, there were only 10 people of French mother tongue. It seems to me that if anything is to be done, it would be better to consider supporting or consolidating bilingual or French-speaking services in the Evangeline area (or in Summerside) and in Tignish where the bulk of the French-speaking population is now concentrated.

Page 22. Would it be worth pointing out that Summerside is the second largest centre in P.E.I. - a town of 9,500 or almost 10,000 population, that is about half the size of Charlottetown with 19,130.





NOVA SCOTIA

P. 23

At the end of the paragraph you might add a phrase "at the opposite ends" or "at either end of the island". Or you could divide the sentence in two with some kind of descriptive phrase about the regions and then mention the census divisions at the northeast extremity and the southwest extremity.

1. Antigonish-Inverness-Richmond

P. 24

I think it would be helpful to make clear that Inverness and Richmond counties are on Cape Breton Island and that Antigonish is on the mainland across the Strait of Canso opposite Cape Breton Island. To get away from the constant use of the term "division" and "subdivision" you might occasionally refer to Inverness County or Antigonish County where the two geographical units are identical. In the last sentence on this page I put a small rather faint question mark in pencil opposite the word "sizable". I suppose this depends on how you interpret or perceive the meaning of a word like "sizable", or "significant". Personally I wouldn't think the French mother tongue population calls subdivision B - Pomquet-Tracadie and Antigonish of 1,020 persons or 16.4%, as sizable. For example it is small in relation to the over 5,000 in Richmond County or the



7,500 in Halifax County but larger than the 790 in Port au Port Peninsula. Perhaps there should be a rough scale of values for qualifying adjectives to ensure a certain uniformity of usage throughout the report but the case of "sizable" is a small point and may simply be a quibble. Perhaps until you come to apply the same terms to comparable English-language minority communities in Quebec.

P. 25                    Here is a place where you might put in a descriptive phrase something like "along the shore of Northumberland Strait" if our in-house geographer would agree that this is an accurate description. In the second paragraph on page 25 or the second paragraph on page 26 you might consider pointing out that the Inverness problem is similar to the one existing in Egmont district in P.E.I., that is, with concentrations at either end and an area with what Don calls a trough in between. Subdivisions B and C which lie between subdivision A and Richmond County have almost 95% English mother tongue population and some of the others who are more numerous than the French mother tongue are probably of gaelic or the Scottish origin.

On page 26 I would mention Cheticamp earlier in relation to subdivision A of Inverness County and point out that the French mother tongue population is concentrated in and around this community in a very compact and cohesive



fashion. I suspect that the percentage would be higher than 52 if you examined it by enumeration areas and it seems to me to be a fairly compact community with clearly defined linguistic boundaries. In the last sentence in the third paragraph on page 26, could you substitute Cheticamp for Inverness? You might also mention their fear that if a larger centre like Antigonish on the mainland to the south was included it would tend to be favoured and to get the services and advantages accruing from being a bilingual district. At the end of the paragraph on page 27 you suggest by implication that the argument I have made as well as some well-known authorities in the field like Frank Vallee who have studied the French language minority communities intensively that government policy should be based on reinforcing the group concentrations rather than spreading out to include a large territory. The recognition could also be more than symbolic if ways and means were sought to provide services which would reinforce the community politically and administratively as well as psychologically. The sentence at the top of the paragraph on page 27 might mention subdivisions B and C in the southern part of the county whereas subdivision A is in the northern part.



P. 28, last paragraph, first sentence

Quietly? How quaint. Actually a fair number of the French mother tongue population in these two counties appear to be unilingual French - about 1,600. I suspect this is a higher percentage than in many other areas.

P. 30

It strikes me that the first sentence is a little too sweeping and positive in its affirmation about the response received. I suspect that if there had been a survey of local opinion, the result might not have been quite so unanimous as the sounding out of leadership opinion represented by 12 or 15 people? In the second paragraph on this page the sentence about the University of St. Francis Xavier profiting doesn't seem to make sense. An argument against including Antigonish which was made by me but not by any Board members as far as I know was, that urban centres even of the size of the town of Antigonish (5,500) with a percentage of minority language mother tongue as low as 2.7 situated in an overwhelmingly majority language ambiance or environment is almost certainly going to be an assimilative centre or as they say in French "un rouage assimilatif". This same argument arises in connection with some other districts which include so-called service centres of overwhelmingly English-speaking domination such as





Digby. It might be useful to at least raise the point for consideration.

2nd paragraph on page 31.

You use the word "strongly" in two subsequent sentences, possibly deliberately.

That's all for the time being and enough.  
It is certainly easier to dictate notes about someone else's draft rather than undergoing the travail of writing one yourself. I come back to the point on which I started; It seems to me this is very good and should be very useful. I await your next instalment with anticipation. Carry on Canada - at least until July 8th!



MEMORANDUM

NOTE DE SERVICE

Mr. Paul Fox  
Chairman

1974

D.G. Cartwright

March 20, 1974

Dear Paul:

I have enclosed a few recommendations for a change of wording in the second draft that you prepared for the Board. These changes are simply for accuracy and I have made no general comments for I feel you will receive many of such from the members and from Neil.

I am now reading the draft for a second time and if I discover any other changes that I feel should be made, I will send these to you as soon as possible.

Cheers,



Changes Recommended for Draft #2  
of the Final Report

D. Cartwright

Page 9 - lines 3 to 7, inclusive, should read:

"...some of the very sophisticated geocoding techniques, which it has been developing, to produce specific tabulations. In addition, the Board was able to obtain data in graphic form, through the computer mapping programs of Statistics Canada, and ecumene maps showing the distribution of permanent population by provinces."

- line 11 should read:

"...a cultural geographer"  
(et merci beaucoup)

Page 17 - para. 16, line 3

The term "...of languages spoken as a mother tongue" is considered to be very awkward. I spoke to Richard Joy (Languages in Conflict) about this structure and to Ross Bradley, Chief - Demographic and Social Characteristics Section, Statistics Canada, and they concurred that the expression as used in the Act and in catalogue 92-529 (Mother Tongue data, 1961) is misleading. Incidentally, the headings in the 1961 catalogue were taken from the wording of the Act but changed for 1971 publication.

Would it be useful to make some comment about the wording of the Act - article 13-2a?









Draft #2Preface

The information about the linguistic nature of this country, which we as a Board have gathered and studied, has led me to conclusions which are very different from those of my colleagues. There is no denying that a language policy for this country is a complicated matter. The Official Languages Act was an important beginning, but it is far from a complete statement of language policy. This has meant that the work of the Bilingual Districts Advisory Board has not simply been a technical matter of drawing boundaries around areas which fulfill certain statistical conditions. It is rather a matter of developing a coherent view of the linguistic nature of the country, developing some ideas of a language policy adapted to the realities of the linguistic situation, and then making decisions about



bilingual districts which reflect this policy.

It was by no means clear to me at the beginning of my work as a member of this Board that our task had these dimensions. This view imposed itself on me as time went on. It did not, in fact, take final shape until after we, as a whole Board, had made final votes on our recommendations. I am afraid I must say that I have changed my mind on some of my own final votes. Since the majority report records the number of votes in favour of any given district, my votes will be recorded there, even though I will be taking different positions in my minority report. I regret this confusion, and can attribute it only to my slowness in appreciating what I now think is the real nature of our task.



## INTRODUCTION

### A. Official Languages Act

What does it mean to say English and French shall enjoy equal status in Canada? I would like to approach an answer to that question by considering the nature of individual linguistic rights - that is, the rights of any given individual to live, work, and be served in his or her own language.

Individual language rights as such are not inherent, in Canada. There are hundreds of thousands of individuals in Canada whose language is neither English nor French and who thus have no legal rights in their own language. But more important, even if these individuals had legal rights in their own languages, that would not mean that they had the possibility of participating in the full range of human endeavour in their own language. Because it is not possible to assure them, as a group, of institutions that would enable such full development.



An individual's language right is tied to the possibility of participating in a full social setting in one's own language. Without this possibility, it is meaningless to say that one has the right to use one's language; and without this possibility by the same token, one ceases to take advantage of the right to use one's language.

In declaring English and French to be of equal status, the Official Languages Act recognizes that these are the two linguistic settings wherein individuals can enjoy a full range of human endeavour in Canada. The Act undertakes to assure that both English and French social settings give full possibilities for development to an individual who chooses either one of them. It means that as a country, Canada will continue to develop equivalent institutional settings in both these languages.





In all honesty, one must recognize a certain assymetry between the two official languages - and a comparable assymetry in the intentions of the Act. In fact, the possibilities for full development in French have not been as great as those in English. The B & B report is but one authoritative statement that French Canadians have been a minority in the classic sense - not only numerically, but socially, psychologically, politically, economically. The rights have been greater, one might say, for anglophones than for francophones, wherever they might happen to live.

To this historic situation is added the present awareness that the English linguistic setting is in no danger of atrophying in Canada;



and by this token, individual English-speakers are assured of possibilities of full development. The French linguistic setting is in danger of atrophying, and with it, the rights of individual French-speakers to live fully. In order to assure those rights to French-speakers, it is essential to maintain the strong French cultural and linguistic setting. Without a complete cultural setting in French, a guarantee of linguistic rights to individuals would be tokenism; there would be no reason to make use of them.

What the Official Languages Act sets out to do, therefore, is to assure those linguistic rights which contribute to the maintenance and development of a social setting where full development in French is possible -- since it is this very setting which gives real meaning to the linguistic rights.



Where the social setting is strong enough as is the case with English in Canada, there is no need to offer guarantees of linguistic rights -- the language is already assured of survival.

B. Bilingual Districts

It follows from the above that the most important element in assuring linguistic rights is the maintenance of a social and cultural setting where the use of that language can lead to full development. This must be the burden of the country's linguistic policy. It is clear that for each of the two official languages, there are geographic locations where the possibilities of its use are much less possible than other locations. In some parts of the country, it is simply not possible to participate fully if one knows French but not English. In other - fewer, but nonetheless existent -



parts of the country, the reverse is the case.

In some parts of the country, it is possible to participate fully as a unilingual, no matter which of the official languages one knows, and which one doesn't know. These are the areas which bilingual districts are meant to identify.

In order to establish where these parts of the country are, let us look at some basic statistics.





Part I

A. An overview of the linguistic situation in the country.

Any social policy must be based on social reality, and a linguistic policy must be based on linguistic reality. I shall try to present a brief overview of the situation.

As the majority report points out, there are three questions in the census related to the official languages. The three together can give some dependable idea of language trends in this country.

The one question which every Canadian resident answered is 1) "What was the first language you learned that you still understand?" This is referred to as the person's mother tongue. Note that the mother tongue may not be the language which the person uses most frequently. Indeed, he/she may no longer be able to speak it - simply understand it.



Two other questions were included in the long questionnaire only, and were answered therefore only by a sample of one-third of the population. Projections have been made from this sample, to arrive at approximate figures for the whole population. These two questions are: 2) What language do you speak most often at home? and 3) Which of the two official languages do you speak?

For the purposes of a static picture of language distribution I find these two questions more critical than the "mother tongue" question, and would recommend that they be included on the short form which is answered by the whole population. Nonetheless, except for areas where the population is very small, the one-third sample gives an adequate picture. For a picture of trends of language development, the three questions together are very instructive. (See Vol. II of the majority report.)



I	Total Population of Canada -	21,568,310
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II Mother Tongue

English	12,973,810	60.2%
French	5,793,650	26.9%
Other	2,800,850	13.0%

III Language Spoken at Home

English	14,446,235	68%
French	5,546,025	25%
Other	1,576,070	7.5%

IV Official Language Spoken

English only	14,469,540	68%
French only	3,879,255	18%
Neither	319,360	1.5%
Both	2,900,155	12%



Tables I through IV give a general idea of the proportions of the two languages, as of the 1971 census. The central facts are that something over one Canadian in four speaks French most often at home; something over 2 Canadians in 3 speak English most often at home. The ratio of English speakers to French speakers is about 5 to 2.





Limiting ourselves for the moment to figures for the language most often spoken, the following are the statistics province by province:

Table V

Language most often spoken

	Total	English	French	Other
Nfld.	522,000	517,000	2,000	3,000
P.E.I.	112,000	107,000	4,000	1,000
N.S.	789,000	754,000	27,000	8,000
N.B.	635,000	431,000	199,000	5,000
Que.	6,028,000	888,000	4,870,000	270,000
Ont.	7,703,000	6,558,000	353,000	792,000
Man.	988,000	817,000	40,000	131,000
Sask.	926,000	832,000	16,000	78,000
Alta.	1,628,000	1,478,000	23,000	127,000
B.C.	2,185,000	2,027,000	11,000	147,000



It is no secret where the greatest part of the French-speaking population is to be found. What is worth exploring, though, is how great a part of the French-speaking population is to be found in Quebec. And how do the languages stand throughout the rest of the country.

Table VI

Canadians speaking French at home

Total	5,546,025	100%
in Quebec	4,870,100	86%
outside Quebec	675,925	14%

We can also surmise - and Table V confirms - that a bulk of the French-speakers who live outside Quebec live in the adjacent provinces of Ontario and New Brunswick. These figures are assembled in Table VII.



Table VII

Canadians speaking French at home

Total	5,546,025	100%
in Que, Ont. and N.B.	5,422,000	98%
in rest of country	124,000	2%

This is a rough beginning at locating the minority language speakers in the country. We will look more closely later. But it raises one crucial question. How does the distribution of the speakers of the two official languages affect the possibilities for participating fully in Canadian life in one or the other of the languages? As a unilingual English speaker, can one participate fully wherever one finds oneself? And as a unilingual French speaker? Specifically, if one is a member of the 2% of the French-speakers who live outside



Quebec, Ontario, and New Brunswick, what are the chances?

My case is that in the provinces west of Ontario and east of New Brunswick, one cannot be a full participant unless one speaks English as well. Schooling, radio, television, church activities, social and cultural activities, governmental services can be available in French. And yet, local and provincial government offices, businesses, travel amenities 25 miles from home, telephone services, in many cases local television and radio programming and local daily newspapers, will be in English.

My Acadian compatriots in Nova Scotia assure me that their aim is not to remain unilingual pockets, but to develop their own cultural heritage while becoming bilingual participants in Nova Scotian life. I know the rest of the country less well, but I expect that the same





aspirations hold elsewhere.

Nova Scotia is one of the areas outside the major French area where the French community is the strongest. Another is St. Boniface, Manitoba. These two areas are somewhat different, and I think each might bear some study.

St. Boniface has a population of 46,750, of whom 10,735 speak French most often at home. 34,165 speak English most often at home. The city is within the metropolitan area of Winnipeg, in which the total number of French speakers is 17,000. In addition to St. Boniface, there are about 2,400 French speakers in Winnipeg proper, about 200 in St. Vital, and about 1,100 in Fort Garry.

St. Boniface is the center of the French population of the Winnipeg Metropolitan region. Of



17,655 French-speakers in the Winnipeg metropolitan region, 10,735 live in St. Boniface. (2,400 live in Winnipeg proper, about 2,000 in St. Vital, and about 1,100 in Fort Garry.) This concentration of French-speakers gives rise to considerable cultural vigour in St. Boniface, including a French-language college, and there is no reason this culture should not continue to thrive. On the other hand, this population of 17,655 French-speakers is surrounded by 467,460 English-speakers. Across the river in Winnipeg, of which St. Boniface is really but one community, English is essential for any kind of transaction. While maintaining French, the French-speakers of St. Boniface must speak English too.

In Nova Scotia, there are four major French communities. For the purposes of discussion, we could look at the district of Clare. There are about 7,000



French-speakers in Clare. They live in a series of fishing villages, and the cultural focus is Collège Ste Anne, the French-speaking College for the province. They are much more isolated than the francophones in St. Boniface - there are only about 2,000 anglophones scattered among them in other villages. As the figures in Volume II of the majority report show, the rate of retention in Clare is high - higher than in St. Boniface, and the isolation is a contributing factor. Nonetheless, the two major towns to which they go - Digby on one side and Yarmouth on the other - are becoming more and more anglophone; and the isolation of Clare itself is diminishing - a trend which is welcomed by the residents. With more and more participation in the rest of the province, which goes about its life in English, people are more and more interested in learning English as well as French.



These are probably the two strongest Francophone communities outside the major French-speaking area. And it seems to me clear that, while their francophone nature should continue to be developed, individual bilingualism will - and should - at the same time increase. The same would be the case for all the other communities outside Quebec, Ontario, and New Brunswick.

(N.B. The above, on St. Boniface and Clare, should be modified. It should be a description without a prescription. Prescription later.)

For the francophone populations of Ontario and New Brunswick, the situation is different and the concentrations of the communities are greater. At least in most cases -- those which are near Quebec.

Let us look at a couple of these areas as well, starting with Sudbury, Ontario. In a total





population for the metropolitan region of about 155,000, about 41,000 speak French most often at home. This is a high absolute number in itself, and it is a high - 26% - percentage of the total population. Over 8,000 people in this city alone are unilingual French. In sum, one can live in French in this city.

In Edmunston, N.B., of a total population of 12,585, there are 11,305 who speak French most often at home. This francophone population is similar to that of St. Boniface - and much less than that of greater Winnipeg - yet it is well maintained, because one lives in French throughout the city..

Farther from Quebec - both in Ontario and in N.B., absolute numbers fall, and percentages fall, and the possibility of living in French diminished sharply.



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In Welland, Ontario, almost 6,000 people speak French at home, out of a total population of 44,000. But this town is part of the St. Catharines area, with a total population of 303,000, of whom only 11,000 are French-speakers. This is not an environment for living in French.

Similarly, in the heart of Quebec, it is difficult to live in English, although, for reasons of the assymetry referred to earlier, the English in Quebec can for the most part participate more widely in Canadian institutions than can the French in the English parts of Canada.

B. Two unilingualisms.

(That's as far as I've gone)

E.D. Duckworth











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